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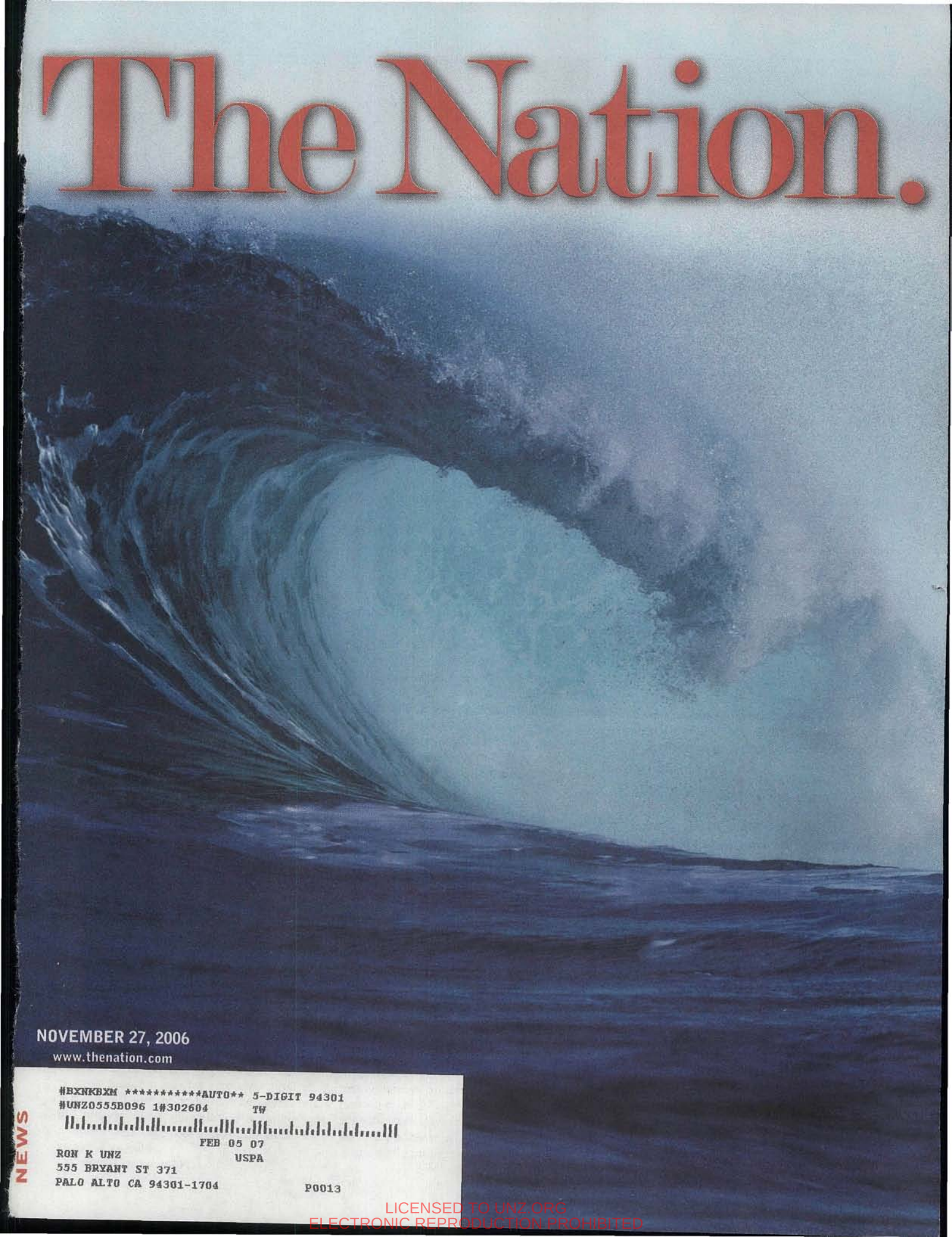

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LETTERS

MORE MILITARY FAMILIES' VOICES...

Old Bridge, NJ

■ I am the mother of an American soldier (my only son and child), posted to Iraq in January. This is not a war, this is a suicide mission. The Iraqis *do not* want us there. We brought on more terrorism by going there. America is more at risk now than ever for a terrorist attack. Our troops should be here at home protecting *us*.

I have met with both my senators, Frank Lautenberg and Robert Menendez, who I am happy to say voted for the Kerry amendment, for a timetable to bring our troops home. President Bush and Vice President Cheney act as though I don't even exist. That is the respect the President gives a soldier's mom. Just ignore them and they will go away. I will never give up the fight to bring our troops home.

My son was recently notified that his unit will be extended for at least six weeks past his yearlong deployment. That is six more weeks of worry and fear for me and six more weeks of combat for him. I wrote this poem about it.

I wish I could sleep through the war!
The pain is so constant, the anger so severe.
I just wish I could sleep through the war.
My child, my baby, feels like he's been
kidnapped from me.
He faces such dangers that none of us sees.
My cries, my pleas, seem to get me nowhere.
I want to yell, "Bring Our Troops Home!"
If only Mr. Bush hadn't sent our troops there
If he only had a child serving
Then he would know our pain.
I wish I could just sleep through the war.
The days go by, not a word I hear,
My heart is always in fear. A call or a knock
Could set off my tears.
I wish I could sleep through the war!

JoAnn Sohl
Military Families Speak Out

...AND MILITARY VOICES

Stafford, Va.

■ As a retired US Army enlisted man, I wholeheartedly support the retired generals in their position on the Iraq War [Richard J. Whalen, "Revolt of the Generals," Oct. 16]. I felt this way from the beginning. I saw no reasons of national interest or any strategic advantage to be gained from this debacle. The immediate response of world opinion strengthened that belief. This is a blunder, Vietnam aside, that may take this country decades to recover from. We gained and lost the sympathy and support of the world in one fell swoop after 9/11. This will be President Bush's legacy: abject failure in world diplomacy and leadership. Sylvester L. Cook

Woodland Hills, Calif.

■ I join these courageous military men in their fight to bring this unwarranted war to an end and bring our troops back from the quagmire of Iraq. I see that Bush has "cut and run" from his "stay the course" slogan. History will note his disastrous disservice to our country.

Hal Gold

Hillsborough, NC

■ As a two-tour Vietnam vet, I read Richard Whalen's article with great interest. It confirmed what I have long suspected: Our current generals and admirals, junior officers during that war, are no different from the careerists and incompetents who led us through the Big Muddy. It's disgusting that the same officers who went through the Nam meat grinder have become the Westmorelands and DuPuys of our current folly, and it appears that, to the current generation, "never again" had a thirty-year expiration date.

Worse, they seem to have forgotten that the most basic part of the military creed is loyalty to the Constitution, not to the ephemeral office-holders in the Pentagon and the White House. It was absolutely their duty to speak out while in uniform to their "superiors," and to resign in public protest in 2002, not three and a half years down a long and bloody road. Just as that previous generation of flag officers wrecked the Army, this generation has allowed feckless civilians, starting with the Chickenhawk in Chief, to wreck the Army, the Guard and the Reserves, something even Westmoreland, McNamara and Johnson couldn't do.

The only positive in all this is that this time, some of them are speaking out on the record, even if from their safe retirements. I note that many are not. David Preston

Santa Fe

■ I agree with much of the criticism offered by the retired generals who oppose the Iraq War. The war and the current occupation have been conducted incompetently. More telling criticism is offered by some officers who object not only to the operational mistakes but to the policy that led to the war in the first place.

I do not agree, however, with Whalen's assertion that the Iraq War has confirmed the "wisdom of the nation's commitment to the all-volunteer armed forces," a policy he helped develop in the Nixon years. Laying aside the profoundly antidemocratic nature of a volunteer military, drawing its "recruits" from minorities and lower economic classes while exempting the upper and middle classes from service, the Iraq War has demonstrated the failure of volunteer military forces.

First, in terms of operational fitness, a volunteer military has proved inadequate to the tasks of winning both the war and the peace.

Second, it is hardly "voluntary" to impress the National Guard into extended and multiple tours of service in Iraq to make up for this inadequacy.

Finally, the American public has tolerated Bush's catastrophic war, even though it now opposes it, because casualties have been largely limited to lower-class "volunteers." If offspring of rich and middle-class Americans were included among the killed and maimed, I believe there would have been a greater and more effective outcry against the war than we have seen.

Jack Archer

Goonellabah, NSW, Australia

■ As a resister of the draft during Vietnam, I must disagree with Richard Whalen's point that getting rid of the draft was a positive step. Having a draft might get some of our young people off their mobiles, their iPods or whatever and paying attention to what's going on!

John Doland Nichols

VOTING: NOT FOR SISSIES

Meridian, Idaho

■ A friend shared Andrew Gumbel's "Guardian of the Ballot Box" [Nov. 6] with me, because of my recent experience completing a mail-in ballot here in Idaho. As "blue" people in a "red" state, my husband and I wanted to insure that our vote would count and wanted extra time to read, mull and ponder the initiatives and special items.

I was told by the Ada County Clerk's office that I must *mail* my request for a write-in ballot directly to them. Fax or e-mail would not do. About a week later, I received a package with a lengthy booklet listing the items in the envelope; a two-inch shiv, excuse me, stylus; a three-fold pamphlet containing the ballot; a return envelope marked POSTAGE DUE; a ballot in the form of a punch-card attached to styrofoam boarding with special instructions: punch cleanly—any styrofoam left inside punch will invalidate your entire ballot.

Shivs and hanging chads, postage due, request in writing, etc. It took us each twenty minutes just to vote and pick out hanging chads. We refolded everything, slid the styrofoam card into the tri-fold carrier, sealed the large envelope, put on required postage and signed where indicated. But I'm still not certain my vote will count. I feel the pain and see the light re voting in America.

Shirley Greene

(Continued on Page 22)

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EDITORIALS

It's Over for Bush

The year 2006 will long be remembered as the Great Retribution—or perhaps the Deliverance Election. George W. Bush's presidency is toast. Bush's potential to further harm the Republic has been greatly reduced. Most Americans stopped believing anything he said a good while back. This was their opportunity to tell him to his face. And they did, with such force and breadth that maybe even he and his cronies heard them.

Much credit goes to the voters and the Democratic Party. Not many off-year elections move history in a fundamental way, but this one did. Americans have elected an opposition that can now check the Administration's destructive policies and investigate its actions at home and abroad, while at the same time putting forth policies that begin to reverse the damage of the past six years. African-American and Latino voters were crucial to the Democratic victory, with a significantly higher percentage of Latinos than in the last midterms voting against the Bush agenda.

The losers, starting with Bush, Cheney and Rumsfeld, who resigned immediately, deserve no sympathy. They have "ruled"—not governed—with cold arrogance and a frightening willingness to ignore the law, including the Constitution. Their Republican legions marched along in lock step, collecting boodle for themselves as they went.

By expressing their disgust, voters have made three great gains. It's true these gains are not yet fully secure. Bush still holds power. The Senate results are not yet settled. But power relationships in Washington have been utterly altered.

The first is the repudiation of Bush and his corrupt presidency, in which everything was for sale, and scandals—corporate and personal—became commonplace. Bush is now naked in his weakness. In some ways this could make him more dangerous in the two years ahead, but Democrats have the power to stop his outrages and excesses. There will be talk of "bipartisanship," as there is after every election. But this fight is not over, and there is no room for compromise with boneheaded intransigence.

The second is the antiwar victory. Candidates of all types ran against the war and won everywhere, demolishing blue state–red state stereotypes on this great issue. Americans want out of this disastrous war—now, as soon as possible. Bush will no doubt hold out for a fig leaf to cover his decisions. But Democrats must not forget the voters' message. If they collaborate in allowing continued bloodletting in Iraq, they will pay the price themselves in future elections.

The third is the collapse of the conservative order—the right-wing economic agenda that has reigned for a generation and produced so many great injuries to society and the general well-being. Republicans will argue among themselves about how to put Humpty Dumpty back together again, but the "market ideology" cannot be repaired. This year, unlike in previous elections, many Democrats ran on the economic issues vital to ordinary people—trade, declining wages, the destruction of the middle class, corporate greed. Led by Senator-elect Sherrod Brown of Ohio, these Democrats will be a new force in Washington—committed to pushing real solutions instead of stale palliatives.

Elections do not resolve large issues, but they can open doors to new politics. That's what happened this year. This election created a new landscape in which long-suppressed ideas and neglected public concerns are once again in play. Despite conventional wisdom, this election is also a victory for progressive voices. And we are celebrating—not triumphant, but eager to press for genuine change and to hold Democrats accountable if they fail. No time to rest. This struggle is going to be spirited.

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Measuring the Mandate

George W. Bush and Karl Rove claimed electoral mandates when they did not receive them. With the results in from the November 7 elections, Democrats now have a true mandate. They need to claim it aggressively, and without apology. But the only way this will happen is if Democratic leaders in Washington understand why their party won so many races in so many parts of the country.

The election was a repudiation of the Bush presidency, a revolt powered by voters' opposition to policies they associate with Bush and his allies: open-ended occupation of Iraq, free-trade pacts that favor corporations rather than workers, disdain for the rule of law and ethical standards. The dozens of new Democratic members of Congress—some the conservatives and centrists that pundits so enjoy celebrating but many of them committed progressives—prevailed not because they offered themselves up as kinder and gentler versions of their GOP predecessors but because they understood the public mood. Pennsylvania Senator-elect Bob Casey may be a social conservative, but his campaign highlighted his economic populism and his condemnation of Bush as having "lied to the American people about how we got into Iraq."

Democrats with a strong antiwar message scored many of the breakthrough wins. They included New Hampshire's Carol Shea-Porter, who last May declared, "Let us honor our veterans this Memorial Day by saying, 'Well done, soldier, and welcome home. America needs you here.'" She'll be joined in the new House by Iowans Bruce Braley and David Loebsack, Minnesotan Keith Ellison and Californian Jerry McNerney, who also won with "Bring the troops home now" messages. Many winners paired opposition to the war with defenses of civil liberties. Montana Senator-elect Jon Tester, chastised by Republicans for criticizing the Patriot Act, took the microphone in a debate and declared, "Let me be clear: I don't want to weaken the Patriot Act. I want to repeal it."

Along with antiwar messages, many winners ran as economic populists willing to break with their own party. Ohio's Senator-elect Sherrod Brown was attacked as being "on the fringe" of the Democratic Party. Brown embraced the criticism, saying, yes, he had broken with the Democratic Congressional leadership to oppose the war, and before that with President Bill Clinton on trade and economic issues. The economic populism that Brown champions—defined largely by smart fair-trade politics—will be amplified by the election to the Senate of Tester, Vermont's Bernie Sanders and Minnesota's Amy Klobuchar.

Bush's name wasn't on the ballot, so the victims of the anti-Bush wave were all Republicans, including moderates like Senator Lincoln Chafee and Representative Jim Leach, despite their having distanced themselves from Bush. Those who hung on, like Connecticut Congressman Chris Shays, did so by noisily abandoning allegiance to Bush's Iraq strategies—as did Democrat-turned-independent-turned-Democrat Senator Joe Lieberman, who ended the campaign calling for the removal of Defense Secretary Rumsfeld. It didn't take long for Bush to meet that demand.

So strong was the Democratic wave that it swept into state and local races. Democrats won a majority of governorships for the

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COMMENT

first time since the early 1990s, and many of the new governors, such as New York's Eliot Spitzer and Massachusetts's Deval Patrick, are activists likely to emerge as national leaders. They'll be joined by similarly activist Democratic attorneys general like California's Jerry Brown and Minnesota's Lori Swanson, and secretaries of state such as Minnesota's Mark Ritchie and California's Debra Bowen.

At the federal and state levels, Democratic leaders now have their own "political capital." How they spend it will decide whether the Democratic wave of 2006 builds or recedes in 2008 and the years beyond. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's "first 100 hours" agenda focuses heavily on addressing the ethics crisis in Congress. That's smart. Many of the seats that fell to Democrats were in districts where Republicans were either forced to resign or had been closely associated with the scandals of GOP lobbyist Jack Abramoff, disgraced House majority leader Tom DeLay or Florida Congressman Mark Foley. Pelosi also plans votes on popular proposals to raise the minimum wage and to implement 9/11 Commission recommendations on national security.

But if Pelosi and Senate Democratic leader Harry Reid want to make their majorities permanent, they must start addressing the more fundamental issues on which so many of their new members ran and won: support for bringing the troops home from Iraq, opposition to the Administration's free-trade agenda and its tax cuts for the rich, and a determination to clean up our politics by setting higher ethical standards and holding every elected official to account—starting with the President. JOHN NICHOLS

And Now, Iraq

The bitterly fought Congressional election was merely the prelude to the real showdown in Washington: the battle over the Iraq War. Now that the campaign is over, and Democrats have at least won the House, George W. Bush will face increasing criticism from newly empowered Democrats and Republicans no longer self-censored by party loyalty. And part of the at-home fight over Iraq could play out like a soap opera.

For months, pressure for change has been building on the White House. But the elections froze much of the debate. Congressional Republicans by and large stuck with Bush. Democrats, sensing the war was winning the elections for them, didn't feel compelled to compose and promote a detailed alternative. This status quo is no longer operative, as demonstrated by the quick departure of Donald Rumsfeld. Come January Democrats will have the power to investigate Administration policies. They'll be able hold hearings on previous mistakes and current White House decisions. But they'll be expected to do more than blame Bush; they'll have to present an alternative, despite being divided on what to do.

As Democrats struggle on this front, the Iraq Study Group, a bipartisan commission chaired by former Secretary of State James Baker, a Republican, and former Representative Lee Hamilton, a Democrat, will be crafting a report assessing the situation in Iraq and proposing policy shifts. Weeks ago, Baker told me there are "no easy solutions," that the Administration had to "admit big mistakes were made" and that his commission would produce specific recommendations or a set of unambiguous alternatives. One option reportedly under consideration is a phased withdrawal of US troops. Another calls for stabilizing Baghdad while the US Embassy works for an accommodation with the insurgents.

Incoming House Speaker Nancy Pelosi has already dismissed the Baker report, perhaps prematurely because it could provide out-of-Iraq Democrats a degree of cover. The Baker-Hamilton report—should it advocate a version of disengagement—might well draw stark lines in the postelection debate. Days before the election, Dick Cheney vowed that the Administration would proceed "full speed ahead." But Baker has signaled that he believes a new strategic path is required. The question is, How kindly will Bush and Cheney take such advice?

Baker is the *consigliere* of the Bush the First clan. Before the 2003 invasion of Iraq, he and Brent Scowcroft, the elder Bush's National Security Adviser, publicly cautioned against the war. Their remarks were interpreted as reflecting Bush Senior's concerns. Bush Junior eschewed the advice, and did what his father had not done: invade and occupy Iraq. Now here comes Baker to pull W.'s bacon out of the fire. But does Bush want to be rescued by a surrogate for his daddy? He might well reject Baker's ideas—which would be an act of family rebellion of global consequence. (But by replacing Rumsfeld with Robert Gates, who was CIA director for Bush Senior and who now serves on the Baker-Hamilton commission, Bush indicated he may not be beyond reach.)

Meanwhile, Republicans will have to choose sides in any family feud. "Before the election, we were hearing from Republican senators that after the campaign they wanted to figure out a bipartisan change of course," says a Senate Democratic staffer. These GOPers could rally around the Baker recommendations (with or without Democrats). Other Republicans could find it hard to cut and run from the President. And 2008 considerations will color calculations on both sides of the aisle.

The election is over; the war is not. With their new power, the Democrats will assume a greater responsibility to address the issue of what to do in Iraq. With diminished power, troubled Republicans will be more inclined to press the leader of their party. With the public, Congress and perhaps his father's crowd arrayed against him, Bush will be in one tight corner. DAVID CORN

A New Southern Strategy

Just one year ago—even a few months ago—the unanimous view among the Democrats' strategic sages was that the only drama in the South this fall would be whether the region's few remaining statewide Democratic officeholders could hold on to their jobs. Could Senator Bill Nelson hold off Katherine Harris, America's tackiest theocrat, in Florida? Could Governor Phil Bredesen show his conservative *cojones* by cutting enough folks off state healthcare to hold on in ultra-red Tennessee?

After the 2004 wipeout of five Democratic Senate seats in the South, many national Democrats were pleased to think that their long-running debate—can we win in Dixie, and should we even try?—had been settled. Settled in the negative, that is. Thomas Schaller's recent book, *Whistling Past Dixie*, brought

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together years' worth of poll-tested memoranda in calling for the Democratic Party to kiss off the nation's largest region.

On November 7 the South—*aka* Jesusland—showed how wrong that conclusion was. If the Senate lands in Democratic hands, it will be thanks in large part to Claire McCaskill's triumph in Missouri and to Jim Webb's prevailing in the recount in Virginia over the man who was once conservatives' great hope for the White House in 2008. It will not be thanks to the candidate who ran the sort of Southern campaign the sages called "perfect"—Harold Ford Jr. in Tennessee, who went far beyond triangulation and out-Republicaned his opponent with hard lines on gay marriage, immigration, national defense, guns and an array of Bible quotes that could whip John Ashcroft in a holiness contest any day.

McCaskill, a sharp-tongued former prosecutor, and Webb, a tough-as-beef-jerky former GOP Naval Secretary, are nobody's idea of wild-eyed liberals. But they both ran campaigns that stubbornly bucked conventional wisdom. Running against hard-core Christian-conservative incumbents, neither triangulated. They were unwaveringly prochoice; called for sharp changes in Iraq policy; opposed anti–gay marriage hoo-ha (Virginia) and stem-cell nonsense (Missouri); and ran as old-fashioned, blue-collar, labor-embracing economic populists. "Once again," McCaskill said in her victory speech, "the Democratic Party has claimed Harry Truman's Senate seat for the working people of Missouri."

For the working people. It's a sequence of words Democrats have continued to mouth, but it's been a long time since anybody living in anything smaller than a McMansion had much call to believe it. McCaskill and Webb took their campaigns directly into the Republicans' working-class strongholds. In the Bible Belt Ozarks of southern Missouri, McCaskill emphasized her blue-collar message without running away from her progressive positions. Stumping hard in southwest Virginia, conservative hill country that has provided Republicans with their statewide margins for three decades, Webb did not thicken his accent or excise the Marx and Engels references from his speeches. He spoke to folks in the same tone, with the same messages, that he used in liberal urban strongholds.

Even the Ford defeat, in which race-baiting played a major role, has something to teach. Yes, the old prejudices remain shockingly strong. But there is also the fact that in a supposedly solid-red Southern state, an African-American Democrat from a well-known, ethically challenged (and liberal) political family nearly beat a conservative Republican for a US Senate seat. A whole lot of white Tennesseans voted for their first black person for a major office; a whole lot of others considered it for the first time. It will never be as hard for them to pull that trigger again.

No message from the midterm election should ring more loudly than this: The South must not be written off. The key to winning the votes of rural and working-class people in Dixie is the same as everywhere else. Nobody said it better than that great Southern activist, *Strange Fruit* author Lillian Smith. A vote, she wrote in *Killers of the Dream*, is a small thing to give to a person who has shown you respect. BOB MOSER

Bob Moser is a Nation *contributing writer.*

Fixing Elections

Now that the Democrats have actually won a national election, it's time we stopped all the talk about Diebold and Karl Rove conspiring to steal elections and started focusing on the real problem, which is the woeful lack of reliability, accountability and transparency in this country's electoral system.

It's actually a golden opportunity. Democrats who have been educating themselves on the shortcomings of electronic voting and the importance of recounts should still feel motivated to reform a system that so many felt was rigged against them in previous electoral cycles. Republicans, meanwhile, might finally want to initiate a grown-up conversation on the subject before they get tagged with the "sore loser" label they thrust so willingly on their opponents in 2000, 2002 and 2004.

From a procedural point of view, the 2006 midterms were a disaster that could still—depending on how things pan out in Virginia—turn into a catastrophe. One-third of the country was asked to vote on new machines whose technical integrity was questioned by computer scientists at a dozen top-flight universities and research institutes. Machines either failed to fire up, hit software obstacles or registered screen freezes, misalignments or votes cast for one candidate that appeared to be recorded for another. In Denver the new e-voting systems came close to collapsing altogether. In eight states voting hours had to be extended because the machines, operated by inexperienced and undertrained poll workers, didn't do what the manual said they would do.

Over and above the mechanical problems was some singularly dirty electioneering—most glaringly directed at Jim Webb's Virginia Senate campaign but restricted neither to one state nor to one party. This will go down as the year "robo-call" entered the political vocabulary, but it was also a campaign marked by old-fashioned voter disinformation and intimidation tactics, directed especially at African-American voters in the South. Voter-ID laws introduced by Republican legislatures to the fury of Democrats created havoc from one end of the country to the other.

The Democrats shouldn't dampen their outrage just because they won. Likewise, they should resist the temptation to make too much fun of Republicans who have suddenly discovered their inner voting-rights activist. For sure, there was something delicious about Rick Santorum demanding the seizure of voting

CALVIN TRILLIN

A SILVER LINING FOR HOUSE REPUBLICANS

The citizens are done deciding.
Now Hastert can come out of hiding.

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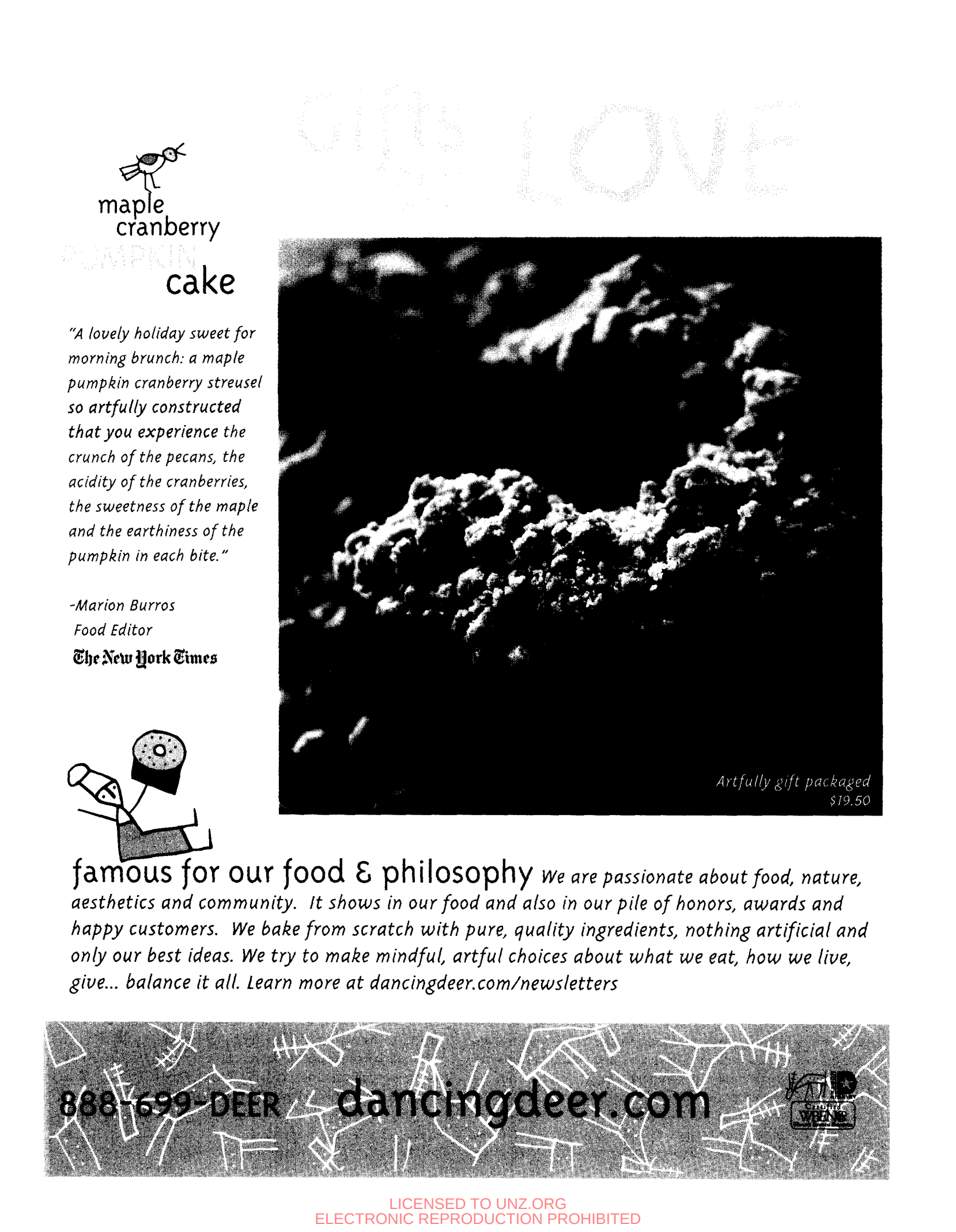
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machines in counties reporting technical problems, or Heather Wilson, the Republican fighting to keep her seat in Albuquerque, calling in federal election monitors. But Democrats tempted to gloat should remember Virginia might yet see a recount, controlled by a GOP establishment, involving squadrons of e-voting machines that don't produce a paper trail. Let's get voting reform back on the national agenda—and fast. ANDREW GUMBEL

Andrew Gumbel, a US correspondent for the Independent *of London, is the author of* Steal This Vote *(Nation Books).*

Haggard Values

The "values vote" has always been something of a chimera, part niche-marketing to white evangelicals and part clever branding designed to exaggerate the Christian right's power at the polls. In past elections, homophobia was the cement that held this bloc together. The specter of same-sex marriage fueled scores of state constitutional marriage amendments and, according to some, Bush's march to his second term. But this year, the beast took a hit—if not a fatal blow, then at least a series of self-inflicted flesh wounds.

First came Mark Foley's "naughty e-mails," then word of Ted Haggard's trysts with meth and a male escort. To be sure, these scandals were not the defining issue of the midterm elections. The Republicans came within 5,000 votes of retaining Foley's seat. Those most associated with the affair, Denny Hastert and Tom Reynolds, held on to theirs. Voters in Haggard's home state of Colorado passed a gay-marriage ban, rejected domestic partnerships for same-sex couples and re-elected Marilyn Musgrave, sponsor of the Federal Marriage Amendment—so much for collateral damage. Still, the Foley-Haggard imbroglio had a diffuse, tarnishing effect. When voters named "corruption" as a top motive for throwing the bums out, they were most likely thinking of GOP lobbying shenanigans, but the odor of two sex scandals perfumed the air. More important, for a moment at least, the mask of Christian-right piety slipped.

That mask is what voters rejected in Arizona, which became the first state to defeat a marriage amendment at the polls. In Tennessee, Idaho and South Carolina, voters approved gay-marriage bans by overwhelming margins. In Wisconsin, South Dakota and Virginia—where scrappy state campaigns worked overtime against better-funded foes—the results were much closer.

Unlike 2004, however, Christian-right leaders can't claim that values voters rallied around marriage amendments and lifted GOP candidates to victory. First, there were few GOP triumphs. In close contests with high turnout, such as Virginia's Senate race, voters ranked same-sex marriage below terrorism, Iraq and the economy as important issues. As for Arizona, the margin was slim but the victory was thrilling nonetheless, and perhaps precedent-setting. Activists rallied progressive clergy, reached out to moderate Republicans and business leaders and marched alongside Democratic candidates like Gabrielle Giffords (who won an open seat in the 8th District). Most crucial, they stressed the damage that Prop. 107 would have done to unmarried heterosexuals (the measure bans any legal status that is similar to marriage). Arizona Together, the organization that led the campaign in the northern half of the state, ran TV commercials featuring heterosexual couples. Meanwhile, No on Prop 107, based in the more liberal south, used small donations (averaging $107) to buy ads on fourteen stations, ranging from Spanish-language spots to conservative talk-radio bits that featured the wife of a GOP mayor.

"The people who wrote this amendment made two mistakes," said Cindy Jordan of No on Prop 107. "First, they forgot that diversity is something Arizonans pride themselves on. Second, they thought that if they just put this on the ballot, like they did in other states in 2004, that Arizona would just blindly vote for it. But they didn't. Arizonans paid attention." Mostly, it was savvy organizing, stressing the diversity of real families, that made that happen. But the timely unmasking of holier-than-thou preachers of narrow "family values" certainly didn't hurt. RICHARD KIM

Richard Kim contributes frequently to The Nation.

A Win for Women

By a whopping twelve points, voters in South Dakota have rejected a draconian ban on abortions, which would have outlawed the procedure in every instance except to save the life of the mother. This was an important defeat for the grassroots right-wing quest to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. It had a spillover effect, too, costing Republicans a seat in the House of Representatives and several state legislators. The outcome was all the more welcome because the campaign was a critical test of prochoice strategy: Could democracy—something reproductive rights organizations have often feared—be a better guardian of our rights than the legislature or the courts?

"This has been such a judicially focused movement," says Lindsay Roitman, campaign manager of the South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families, the coalition against the ban. Taking the abortion ban, which had been enacted by the legislature but was not yet in effect, to the voters, she says, was "a huge risk, one that people were questioning even until last week." The victory is even more impressive given that, as Roitman points out, "this is not just a red state but a deeply religious state."

What worked in South Dakota? First, prochoice activists paid close attention to local political culture and talked about things that mattered to fellow South Dakotans. "It was not 'Our Bodies, Our Choice,' or 'Get Your Rosaries Off My Ovaries,'" laughs Roitman. Instead, they emphasized the idea that government shouldn't interfere in deeply personal decisions. Second, good old-fashioned organizing worked. The Campaign for Healthy Families had more than 2,000 volunteers knocking on doors and standing on street corners. In every county where the campaign had an office and a grassroots volunteer operation, prochoice forces prevailed. Abortion "has been treated as such a black-and-white issue," says Roitman. "We got people to have conversations about the gray area."

LIZA FEATHERSTONE

Liza Featherstone is a Nation *contributing editor.*

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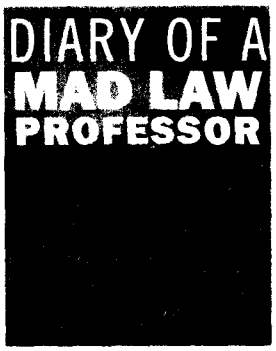
PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Keeping Up Appearances



Recently, the leader of Britain's House of Commons, Jack Straw, created a firestorm when he revealed that he wants Muslim women to remove their veils when they do business with his office. "Most I ask seem relieved I have done so," he said. "Last Friday was a case in point. The veil came off almost as soon as I opened my mouth. I dealt with the problems the lady had brought to me. We then had a really interesting debate about veil wearing. This itself contained some surprises. It became absolutely clear to me that the husband had played no part in her decision. She explained she had read some books and thought about the issue. She felt more comfortable wearing the veil when out. People bothered her less." Despite the woman's assertions, Straw concluded that the veil is "such a visible statement of separation and of difference" that it hinders not just "face-to-face" encounters but the very possibility of "positive relations between the two communities."

To my American ear, it seems boorish of Straw to use his public power to chat up the clients about perceived wardrobe mistakes. Yet since 9/11, even if most politicians would think twice before asking nuns to doff those wimples or Hasidic Jews to drop in at Brooks Brothers and get with the times, they do seem to have fewer inhibitions about projecting "terror" onto veils and turbans and hijabs and burqas.

Straw's stance made me think of Eboo Patel, founder of the Interfaith Youth Corps. Patel, an American Muslim, tells the story of having been a guest speaker at Berea College, a Christian institution in Kentucky. A faculty member asked if he would like them to cover the cross when he spoke in the school chapel. Patel declined, demurring that it was precisely the Christian principle of inclusive fellowship symbolized by the cross that had inspired the invitation that had brought him there. On one level, the little interchange between Patel and Berea was unremarkable. It was a kind of mutual bow, a polite deflection from one religious tradition to another and back again. The essence of civility. From another perspective, however, it stood out as a rare moment of diplomacy in the freighted fan dance of hiding and exposing Muslim signifiers and Christian symbols.

Patel contrasts the offered covering of the cross with French laws against public expressions of religious identity—the insistence, for example, that no crosses or head scarves or stars of David may be worn in schools. France's forcing of Muslim girls to remove all head coverings is analogous, he asserts, to his insisting that Berea's cross be shrouded in his presence. Patel doesn't believe it would advance the cause of coexistence or tolerance. (Of course, it is not at all clear that the goal of the French law is tolerance—secularism is more the driving value. But in an American context, I think it's a point well taken. We are a society whose best moments are premised on a civic narrative providing haven for those who want to be left alone to worship, or not, as they see fit.)

Patel's story also exhibits the orderliness of everyday courtesy. It is a good thing if a host inquires whether the guest has any dietary needs and the guest responds modestly, imposing as little as possible. It is a not-so-good thing if a host forgets that his Orthodox guests might require a kosher meal. And it is a bad thing if a guest arrives at the dinner party and only then proceeds to deliver a bombastic list of restrictions and allergic possibilities. Yet that basic spectrum of anticipation and respect is often forgotten in this era of global diaspora and hybridized culture. When Straw insists that Muslim women who come to his office remove their veils for his comfort, who is the host, who is the guest? Is his role properly the accommodating public servant or more the gatekeeper of Anglican mores? Is wearing the veil to Jack Straw's office more like insisting that others go out of their way to accommodate your vegetarianism? Or is the veil basically none of Jack Straw's business, no more relevant to the conduct of his official duties than if the request were made by telephone?

A few weeks ago the French newspaper *Le Figaro* published a polemic by Robert Redeker, a high school teacher from Toulouse. In it, he bitterly decried what he viewed as the subversion of French values in deference to premodern Muslim sensitivities. One of the concerns he cited was a Parisian ordinance barring sunbathing in near nudity on the banks of the Seine. It was an interesting example to me because when I was in Paris last summer, a taxi driver rolled his eyes and told me this very ordinance had been passed in deference to worries that topless sunbathing might affect the tourism choices of rich, prudish American families. I don't know what the real genesis of the sunbathing ordinance is, but this contrasting set of explanations underscores the power of cultural convention. For a modest Mormon girl from Utah who may not share the bored French sense of the body's banality, removing a bikini top might be just as problematic as removing the veil might be for a modest Muslim student in Redeker's class.

There is a tendency in our media to conflate head coverings and the oppression of women. If a woman is forced either to cover herself from head to toe or to bare herself entirely because the men in her life don't want her to be educated or will beat or kill her, then that is oppressive. But it is a stereotype to imagine that clothing, or lack of it, is the same as radical repression. There are many Muslim women, like Straw's constituent, who say they are just more comfortable covering themselves. My hunch is that commentators too often dismiss those avowals as false consciousness; but the power of convention in clothing is also deeply connected to a sense of bodily integrity. If I were forced by law to disrobe before I could go to the beach, you might find me yearning for the fashion equivalent of a pup tent, too. And so, when our leaders, our pundits, our earnestly self-appointed harvesters of hearts and minds follow Jack Straw's lead and barnstorm through the Muslim world urging women to cast off their layers as a way of getting on board the freedom train, I fear it will be heard as the tin-eared rhetoric of shallow evangelizing. ■

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ERIC ALTERMAN

Time to Abolish the Editorial Page?

I was at a book party not long ago when Randy Cohen, who writes the *New York Times Magazine*'s "Ethicist" column, walked up to New York Governor George Pataki and said, "Please, Governor, where's New York City's school aid program? You've got to fund that!" Pataki, upon learning of Cohen's place of employ, said something like, "Yes, the *Times* would complain about school funding," and walked away. End of conversation.

You see, the *Times* editorial page strongly opposes Pataki's stonewalling of court-ordered increases in education funding. Pataki therefore feels he can blithely blow off a guy who writes an advice column in the newspaper's Sunday magazine.

Why am I telling you this story? Pataki was obviously full of it. He knew that the author of a paper's Sunday advice column is no more responsible for the opinions expressed on its editorial page than the guy who drops it off at my doorstep each morning. But being a politician, Pataki was also aware that the *Times* editorial page gives the paper its reputation as a "liberal" newspaper—no matter how sympathetic its reporters try to be to the likes of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney (and no matter that, in fact, the *Times* editorial page endorsed Pataki himself in his last campaign). Because of this reputation, Pataki thought he could ignore a question from anyone associated with the newspaper without paying a price. And here, unfortunately, he was probably right.

Fred Hiatt, who heads the *Washington Post* editorial page, admits that "endorsements by the editorial page can make life difficult for our colleagues who report and edit the news, though in fact we operate totally independently from each other." Despite this independence, he recognizes that "some readers and campaign workers will always be skeptical of that separation, and the doubts can be a burden on Post political reporters."

In the case of the *Post*, the dynamic is somewhat different. Its editorial page has rushed so far right of late, it has come to mimic the work of the self-described "wildmen" of the *Wall Street Journal*. *Post* editorialists apparently feel they are free to ignore inconvenient facts reported in the paper's news section, and misuse others, to justify the Bush Administration's campaign against Joe Wilson and other critics—as a careful Media Matters for America report has demonstrated.

While reporters and editors would like to believe that their readers are fully aware of the split between the news and editorial desks, in fact the distinction matters only to the minuscule minority who read the paper the way journalism professors would wish. Most news consumers do not know or care enough to make such distinctions. The *Times* is recognized as a "liberal newspaper" because it has a generally liberal editorial page. (For the first time in modern memory, the *Times* endorsed virtually all Democrats this year.) The *Wall Street Journal* is seen as the opposite. As a result, *Journal* reporters are apparently less terrified than their *Times* colleagues of appearing to confirm suspicions of "liberal bias" in their stories, so they feel slightly freer to tell the truth.

Hiatt is on to something then, but he flatters himself when he claims endorsements are one of a newspaper's "most important responsibilities." In my judgment this importance exists largely in the minds of editorial and campaign staffs. This year strong endorsements by the *Times* of Ned Lamont over Joe Lieberman and Democrat Diane Farrell over moderate Republican Chris Shays in Connecticut failed to sway exactly the kind of voters one would expect to swear by the *Times*. And it's hard to imagine a *Washington Post* editorial swaying many votes in the District of Columbia, where Democrats always win, no matter what. Perhaps the *Post* editors' views are of interest to a few Maryland or Virginia voters, though the *Post*'s endorsement of Maryland Governor Robert Ehrlich Jr. apparently failed to impress there as well. And just why the *Post* board found itself reaching into the Lieberman primary remains a mystery. Who, among Connecticut Democrats, takes orders from a newspaper with no stake whatever in the community?

Of course, editorial writers would argue that their authority rests not on any inherent influence, but on the power of their prose to persuade. But if so, why not sign your name to your argument? Lord knows, nobody reads committee-written and vetted editorials for their scintillating prose. Too often, the stentorian voice of the collective editorial acts as a condom against effective communication—a prophylactic against the accidental conception of wit or irony.

Sure, it's fun to pretend to be powerful and influential and to have politicians play along. But sadly, readers see editorials touting certain policies and politicians and assume the entire paper—including the news columns—is slanted the same way. For Murdoch's *New York Post* or the Moonies' *Washington Times* (or, um, *The Nation*) that's fine, because they are. But in the so-called objective press, editorials taint the reporting in the minds of many readers. And while I can't prove this, I think this leads reporters and editors to bend over backward to prove they don't share the biases of their editorial boards, which in a time of "faith-based" public policy-making by Republicans, makes said reporters look increasingly "liberal" merely for taking reality into account.

Wouldn't most papers be immediately improved by dropping their editorial page and increasing the ideological range and informational expertise of their contributing columnists? I'll go even further. Why not heed the examples of Britain's universally admired (liberal) *Guardian* and (conservative) *Economist* and drop the frequently phony distinction between "fact" and "opinion"? Why not just let reporters tell us what they know to be true and how and why they know it? Such a solution would borrow what's most engaging from the blogosphere without sacrificing the crucial function of newspapers in a democratic society. What's more, it would offer the potential to re-engage people in a (Deweyite) discussion and debate without dumbing down their sources of (Lippmann-like) information.

Have a better solution? Let's hear it. ■

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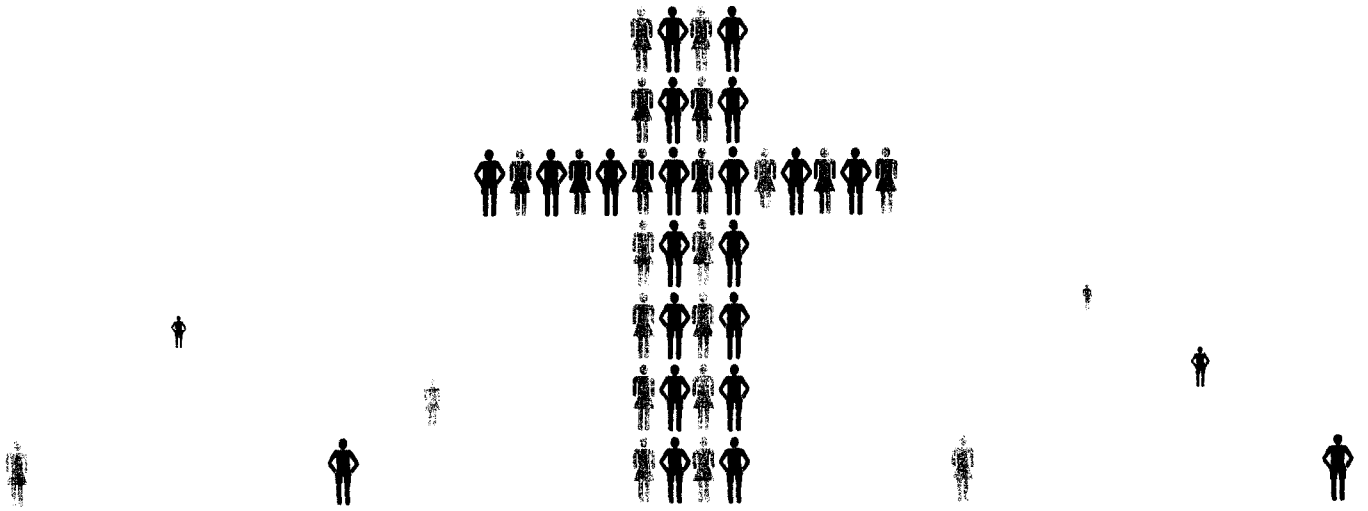
ARTICLES

The Quiverfull Conviction



Christian Mothers Breed 'Arrows for the War'

by Kathryn Joyce

When the Gospel Community Church in Coxsackie, New York, breaks midservice to excuse children for Sunday school, nearly half of the 225-strong congregation patters toward the back of the worship hall: the five youngest children of Pastor Stan Slager's eight, assistant pastor Bartly Heneghan's eleven and the Dufkin family's thirteen, among many others. "The Missionettes," a team of young girls who perform ribbon dances during the praise music, put down their "glory hoops" to join their classmates; the pews empty out. It's the un-ignorable difference between the families at Gospel Community and those in the rest of the town that's led some to wonder if the church isn't a cult that forces its disciples to keep pushing out children.

But after the kids leave, Pastor Stan doesn't exhort his congregation to bear children. His approach is more subtle, reminding them to present their bodies as living sacrifices to the Lord, and preaching to them about Acts 5:20: Go tell "all the words of this life." Or, in Pastor Stan's guiding translation, to lead lives that make outsiders think, "Christianity is real," lives that "demand an explanation."

Lives such as these: Janet Wolfson is a 44-year-old mother of eight in Canton, Georgia. Tracie Moore, a 39-year-old midwife who lives in southern Kentucky, is mother to fourteen. Wendy Dufkin in Coxsackie has her thirteen. And while Jamie Stoltzfus, a 27-year-old Illinois mom, has only four children so far, she plans on bearing enough to populate "two teams." All four mothers are devoted to a way of life *New York Times* columnist David Brooks has praised as a new spiritual movement taking hold among exurban and Sunbelt families. Brooks called these parents "natalists" and described their progeny as a new wave of "Red-Diaper Babies"—as in "red state."

But Wolfson, Moore and thousands of mothers like them call themselves and their belief system "Quiverfull." They borrow their name from Psalm 127: "Like arrows in the hands of a warrior are sons born in one's youth. Blessed is the man whose quiver is full of them. They will not be put to shame when they contend with their enemies in the gate." Quiverfull mothers think of their children as no mere movement but as an army they're building for God.

Quiverfull parents try to have upwards of six children. They home-school their families, attend fundamentalist churches and follow biblical guidelines of male headship—"Father knows best"—and female submissiveness. They refuse any attempt to regulate pregnancy. Quiverfull began with the publication of Rick and Jan Hess's 1989 book, *A Full Quiver: Family Planning and the Lordship of Christ*, which argues that God, as the "Great Physician" and sole "Birth Controller," opens and closes the womb on a case-by-case basis. Women's attempts to control their own bodies—the Lord's temple—are a seizure of divine power.

Though there are no exact figures for the size of the movement, the number of families that identify as Quiverfull is likely in the thousands to low tens of thousands. Its word-of-mouth growth can be traced back to conservative Protestant critiques of contraception—adherents consider all birth control, even natural family planning (the rhythm method), to be the province of prostitutes—and the growing belief among evangelicals that the decision of mainstream Protestant churches in the 1950s to approve contraception for married couples led directly to the sexual revolution and then *Roe v. Wade*.

"Our bodies are meant to be a living sacrifice," write the Hesses. Or, as Mary Pride, in another of the movement's founding texts, *The Way Home: Beyond Feminism, Back to Reality*, puts it, "My body is not my own." This rebuttal of the feminist health text *Our Bodies, Ourselves* is deliberate. Quiverfull women are more than mothers. They're domestic warriors in the battle against what they see as forty years of destruction wrought by women's liberation: contraception, women's careers, abortion, divorce, homosexuality and child abuse, in that order.

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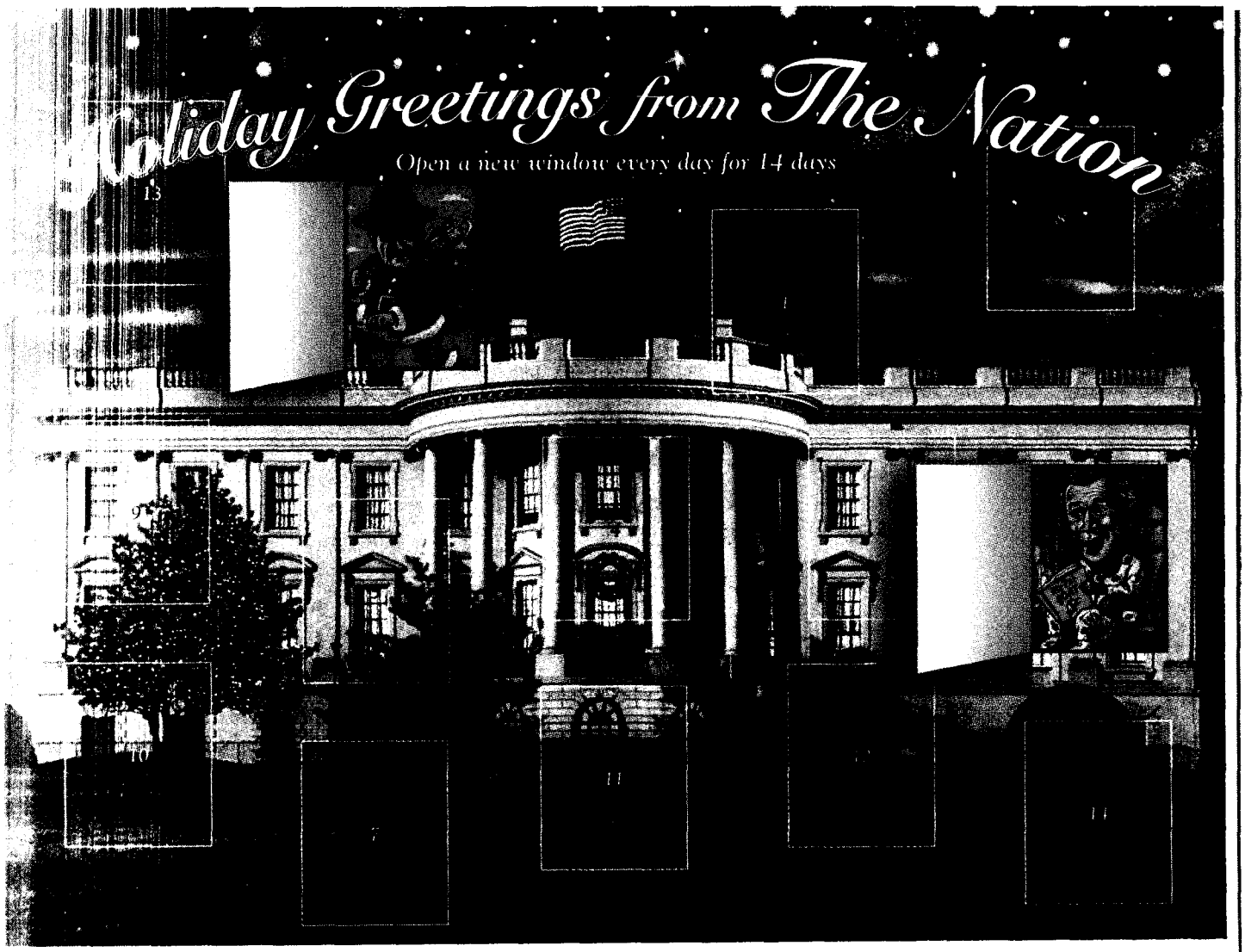

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Pride argues that feminism is a religion in its own right, one that is inherently incompatible with Christianity. "Christians have accepted feminists' 'moderate' demands for family planning and careers while rejecting the 'radical' side of feminism—meaning lesbianism and abortion," writes Pride. "What most do not see is that one demand leads to the other. *Feminism is a totally self-consistent system aimed at rejecting God's role for women.* Those who adopt any part of its lifestyle can't help picking up its philosophy." "Family planning," Pride argues, "is the mother of abortion. A generation had to be indoctrinated in the ideal of planning children around personal convenience before abortion could be popular."

Instead of picketing clinics, Pride writes, Christians should fight abortion by demonstrating that children are an "unqualified blessing" by having as many as God gives them. Only a determination among Christian women to take up their submissive, motherly roles with a "military air" and become "maternal missionaries" will lead the Christian army to victory. Thus is Quiverfull part of Mary Pride's whole-cloth solution to women's liberation: embracing an opposing way of life as total and "self-consistent" as feminism, and turning back the tide on a society gone wrong by populating the world with right-thinking Christians.

In the Quiverfull view, Christians should demonstrate that children are an 'unqualified blessing' by having as many as God gives them.

The gentle manner of Deidre Welch, another Coxsackie mom, with four boys, seems at odds with Quiverfull's militaristic language, which describes children as weapons of spiritual war, as arrows shot out by their parents. But she describes the movement toward larger families in the same way: "God is bringing revelation on the world. He wants to raise up His army. He wants His children to be."

Angel Mays, a 31-year-old mother to three in West Virginia, spoke with me just before she was to have her tubal ligation reversed in order to make her body "God's home" again. Mays suspects a divine purpose to her change of heart and believes the Quiverfull and home-schooling movements are signs of a revival. "It seems the Lord is preparing for something, and I'm wondering if He's doing something big. There's so much selfishness, with people thinking they need to make their lives easier. But we're to seek the Kingdom of God first. The further the nation gets away from God, the starker the Christian contrast grows. The darker the world gets, the more we stand out."

In his 2004 column for the *Times*, David Brooks concluded that mothers like Welch and Mays are too busy parenting to wage culture war. A home-schooling mother of nine on the 2,700-family-strong online forum Quiverfull Digest (www.quiverfull.com) responded in irritation to Brooks's misunderstanding of the movement's aims. Raising a large family, she replied, was itself her "battle station," as deliberately political an act as canvassing for conservative candidates, not to mention part of a long-term plan to win the culture war "demographically."

Population is a preoccupation for many Quiverfull believers, who trade statistics on the falling white birthrate in European countries like Germany and France. Every ethnic conflict becomes evidence for their worldview: Muslim riots in France, Latino immigration in California, Sharia law in Canada. The motivations aren't always racist, but the subtext of "race suicide" is often there.

Pastor Heneghan of Gospel Community Church sees the issue of population growth in more biblical terms, specifically those taken from Genesis and Revelation. "Some people think that what I'm doing—having eleven children—is wrong. I don't really get into that much. The Bible says 'be fruitful and multiply.' That's my belief system. They don't believe in God, so they think we have to conserve what we have. But in my belief system, He's going to give us a new earth." Overpopulation isn't a problem in a universe where God promises a clean global slate.

As a movement, Quiverfull has grown in a grassroots style. There's little top-down instruction or organization from church leaders; instead it spreads through community Bible studies, home-schooling forums, "prolife" activist circles or small ministries such as "Titus 2" wife-mentoring groups, which instruct Christian women in biblical wifehood. Supporter Allan Carlson, an economic historian who heads the Howard Center for Family, Religion and Society and advises conservative legislators like Kansas Senator Sam Brownback, sees Quiverfull's most significant roots in the home-schooling movement, and as with the early days of home-schooling, he sees Quiverfull as a populist movement with "a wonderful anarchy to it."

But while home-schoolers may be more receptive to the idea of unplanned families, most prospectives actually learn about the Quiverfull conviction through the movement's literature: Pride's and the Hesses' books, Nancy Campbell's *Be Fruitful and Multiply*, Rachel Scott's *Birthing God's Mighty Warriors* or Sam and Bethany Torode's *Open Embrace*. And most people find these books after hearing the theory that birth-control pills are an abortifacient (that hormonal contraception such as the pill can cause the "chemical abortion" of accidentally fertilized eggs). This belief is something the Quiverfull conviction has in common with the larger Christian right, which has recently embraced a radically expanded "prolife" agenda that encompasses not just abortion but birth control and sexual abstinence. Taking a page from the antiabortion movement, anticontraception activists have gradually broadened their aims, moving from defending individual "conscientiously objecting" pharmacists who refuse to dispense contraceptives on moral grounds to extending the same "right of refusal" to corporate entities such as insurers, to an out-and-out offensive against birth control as the murder-through-prevention of 3,000 lives a day and also as the future undoing of Western civilization.

The latter two points were recently made in Illinois by British demographer Andrew Pollard, a speaker at the pioneering "Contraception Is Not the Answer" conference in September. That event served as a sort of coming-out party for the anti-contraception movement, following an August cover story on "The Case for Kids" in the evangelical flagship magazine

Kathryn Joyce is working on a book about Christian conservative women, to be published by Beacon Press.

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Christianity Today. Pundits warning of a coming "demographic divide," wherein fecund red staters will far outnumber barren blue state liberals, are further ratcheting up interest in fertility politics. But before the movement made this mainstream splash, a quieter opposition to birth control had been building for years.

Among the first contemporary Protestants advancing the theory that contraception is anathema to Scripture was Charles Provan, an independent Pennsylvania printer, lay theologian and father to ten who was until recently deeply involved in the Holocaust revisionist movement. In 1989 Provan, whom both Pride and the Hesses name as an inspiration, published *The Bible and Birth Control*, which has been called the authoritative source for Protestants seeking scriptural guidance on contraception. In it, Provan traces Protestant opposition to birth control to three main scriptural bases: Psalm 127, the Genesis command to "be fruitful and multiply," and the biblical story of Onan, slain by God for spilling his seed on the ground (seen by Provan as a form of birth control).

No Protestant denomination accepted birth control until 1930, when the Anglican Church endorsed contraceptive use among married couples. Quiverfull author Rachel Scott sees that moment as the beginning of a biblically prophesied era of "70 years in Babylon"—in this case a spiritual Babylon that declared children to be a "choice"—that ended (rather inexactly) with 9/11, seventy-one years later.

If the Quiverfull mission is rooted in faith, its mandate has tangible results as well. Namely, to provide 'arrows for the war.'

The fall of the Twin Towers is a popular turning point in the Quiverfull narrative. Becca Campos, a 34-year-old Nebraska mother of five who works as an administrator for a sterilization reversal ministry, Blessed Arrows, explains: "The Bible says that if a nation humbles itself and prays together, God will turn the hearts of the fathers back to the children. After 9/11, people started looking inward." Campos sees the schedule change of her 2001 tubal ligation reversal in Mexico—from September 10 to September 8—as God's provision that she shouldn't be stuck south of the border during her recovery, unable to board a plane home. The references aren't so much Falwellian bombast—9/11 as God's judgment on a sinful country—as the magical thinking that goes along with a faith strong enough to convince poor families, who are struggling to make ends meet as it is, that God will provide for them unequivocally.

"Lean not on your own understanding," Quiverfull mom Tracie Moore tells me, describing the scriptural foundations she's discovered for the movement: Children are a blessing, a reward, an inheritance. Don't worry about money—the Moores have never had much of it—because God will provide for his flock.

And in its most innocuous self-explanations, this is what Quiverfull is about: faith, pure and simple. Faith that God won't give women more children than they can handle, and faith that by opening themselves up to receive multiple "blessings," they will bring God's favor upon them in other areas of life as well: Their husbands will get better jobs; God will send a neighbor with a sack of used children's clothes just when the soles on Johnny's shoes fall out. God, many Quiverfull women say, deals with their hearts about birth control, and if they submit, they are cared for.

This last equation—submit, and be cared for—is a fitting summary of the social logic of the Quiverfull life. While most Quiverfull families appear to be solidly working class or low income, even those in the middle-income brackets struggle with the financial challenges of caring for a ten-person family. But for many Quiverfull mothers, this struggle is still preferable to the alternatives they see society offering working-class women—alternatives they see as the fruit of secular feminism. For poor women, the feminist fight for job equality won them no career path but rather the right to pink-collar labor, as a housekeeper, a waitress, a clerk. The sexual revolution did not bring them self-exploration and fulfillment but rather loosened the social restraints that bound men to the household as husbands and fathers. Even for women who stayed in the home, the incidence of women in the workplace led employers to stop offering a "family wage" that could sustain both parents and children.

Mary Pride puts it in biblical terms—feminism made wage slaves out of women who had once been slaves to God; it made "unpaid prostitutes" out of women who should have been godly mothers and wives. Yet there's something deeper here than standard antifeminist backlash. While economic and cultural complaints may attract believers to Quiverfull, conviction, and the momentum of a growing movement, are what sustains them.

Rachel Scott, who calls herself a "one-woman Quiverfull activist," describes her conversion moment. One night after the birth of her fourth child—their third "oops" baby due to birth-control failures—when the prospect of tuition for four consumed husband Christopher and their pastor was urging vasectomy, Christopher saw a warrior angel in his dream. A "large, worrying warrior angel" with a flaming sword that he pointed at Christopher's genitals, telling him, "Do not change God's plan."

While Scott pays tribute to the foundation of the Quiverfull movement in Pride's books and the home-schooling movement, she distinguishes herself from the "hard line" of Quiverfull believers, whom she sees as holding each other to purity tests: How many kids do you have? Do you home-school? Concerned that such stringency could alienate potential believers, Scott instead promotes a gentler Quiverfull, so that average Christian families feel up to the task of "Birthing God's Mighty Warriors." "Like all good buildings, the foundation needs to be strong. But the Bible says, 'All men come.' The foundation's been laid and now God's starting to change people's minds, both inside and outside of the church. Before the end times, the Bible says the family will be restored, whether they're in church or out of church," says Scott.

The hard Quiverfull line is something that bothers Dawn Irons, founder of Blessed Arrows. After Lyme disease left Irons "postfertile," she felt stung by the assertions of "movement Quiverfullers," who view the number of children one has as a gauge of holiness or spirituality. "If you follow the discussions on the Quiverfull Digest right now, you can see what happens when a 'movement' mentality sets in. Someone just asked the

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question today if a person can really be considered Quiverfull if they're past the age of childbearing...as if being able to birth a baby is all that makes one Quiverfull. It's a heart change."

Becca Campos agrees. She says that Quiverfull shouldn't be thought of as a movement but as a return to an old ideal. Current speculation on the Quiverfull Digest as to whether larger families are becoming "a fad" grows from some people "making an idol of it." Of course, the nature of mass movements is a blunting of subtleties, and a winnowing down of theology to the most easily understood denominator. In this case: babies, lots of them, for God.

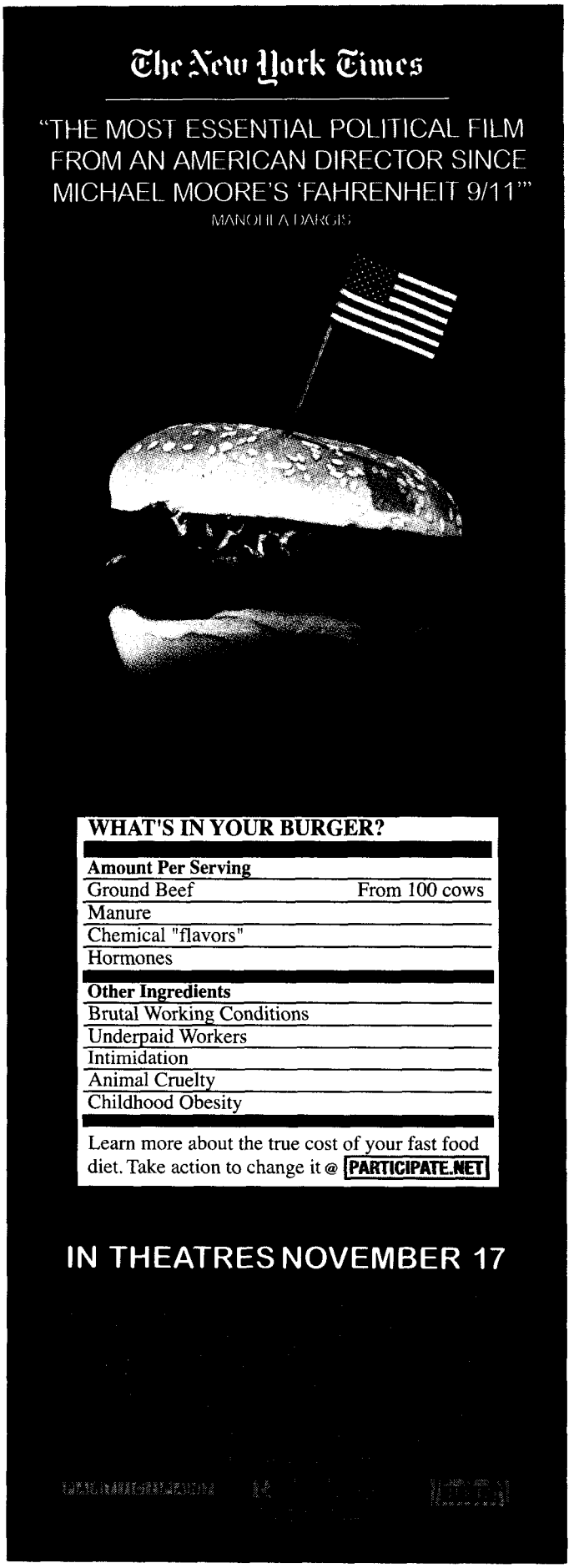
When I visited Janet and Ted Wolfson at their paintball farm in Canton, Georgia, for a planned Quiverfull picnic (one cut short by bad weather and Rachel Scott's cardinal rule that "with eight children, plans are always subject to change"), the Wolfsons and their guests were discussing the reasons for sticking with Quiverfull through the hard times. An anonymous mother had written in to the Quiverfull Digest full of despair, saying she felt she was "going to die." Her husband was older and unhelpful around the house, and she feared he would die and leave her to raise their six children alone and destitute. She wanted someone on the forum to give her a reason—besides the Bible—why one should be Quiverfull. The answers were quick and pointed: Apart from Scripture, there's no reason why one should be Quiverfull.

"If you don't invoke God's word, then there's really no reason," the Wolfsons explained. "Kids are great and all that, but in reality, it's all about the Bible."

But if the Quiverfull mission is rooted in faith, the unseen, its mandate to be fruitful and multiply has tangible results as well. Namely, in Rick and Jan Hess's words, to provide "arrows for the war."

After arguing Scripture, the Hesses point to a number of more worldly effects that a Christian embrace of Quiverfull could bring. "When at the height of the Reagan Revolution," they write, "the conservative faction in Washington was enforced [*sic*] with squads of new conservative congressmen, legislators often found themselves handcuffed by lack of like-minded staff. There simply weren't enough conservatives trained to serve in Washington in the lower and middle capacities." But if just 8 million American Christian couples began supplying more "arrows for the war" by having six children or more, they propose, the Christian-right ranks could rise to 550 million within a century ("assuming Christ does not return before then"). They like to ponder the spiritual victory that such numbers could bring: both houses of Congress and the majority of state governor's mansions filled by Christians; universities that embrace creationism; sinful cities reclaimed for the faithful; and the swift blows dealt to companies that offend Christian sensibilities.

"With the nation's low birth rate, the high divorce rate, an un-marrying and anti-child viewpoint, and a debauched nation perhaps unable to slow down the spread of AIDS, we can begin to see what happens politically. A half-billion person boycott of a company which violated God's standards could be very effective.... Through God's blessing we would be part of a replay of Exodus 1:7, 'But the sons of Israel were fruitful and increased greatly, and multiplied, and became exceedingly mighty, so that the land was filled with them.'"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"Brethren," they write, "it's time for a comeback!"

The fact that, in 2006, their predictions read less like Left Behind fantasies than a slight exaggeration of the past year's religious news is a testament to what's changed since the Hesses published their book more than fifteen years ago.

Quiverfull is not yet a large movement. The number of families wholly committed to its path doesn't represent any pollster's idea of a key demographic. But it's nonetheless culturally significant for representing an ideal: an illustration of the family structure many conservatives reference in condemning modern society. Not every family has to be "Quiverfull," in the sense of having six or eight children, for the movement to make an impact. Mothers who have four kids instead of three can also reinforce the Quiverfull goal of a return to the traditional, patriarchal family as the basic economic unit of society.

Their language reflects the church's 'constant state of war': the husband a 'commanding officer' and his wife a 'private' below him.

Even as the movement seeks to mellow its image to mainstream its message, the revival dreams the Hesses had in the 1990s have become popular talking points in their own right through the work of social scientists like Phillip Longman, a demographer at the centrist New America Institute and the author of *The Empty Cradle: How Falling Birthrates Threaten World Prosperity and What to Do About It*, and the man Longman describes as his "dark shadow," Allan Carlson. Though Carlson comes at natalism from the right and Longman, putatively the secular vanguard of the movement, works on the issue from the middle, their positions are sufficiently similar for Longman to have endorsed Carlson's controversial pro-Quiverfull treatise, "The Natural Family: A Manifesto."

Carlson is fond of recalling early opponents of birth control such as Teddy Roosevelt and the New Deal–era "maternalists" who pushed through the traditionalist strictures written into the first Social Security Act, which defined beneficiary families as breadwinning fathers and homemaking mothers. Roosevelt, according to Carlson, associated birth control with "race suicide" and selfish white women who "import our babies from abroad" rather than honor their duty to bear children for the nation. Like Roosevelt and the maternalists, Carlson wants to construct a secular, social-policy case for natalism based on the importance of large families to sustaining a Social Security system crippled by childless "free riders." As with the "family friendly" tax policies Carlson has written for conservative politicians such as Senator Brownback and Nebraska Representative Lee Terry—which reward large families with hefty tax cuts for each child—Carlson says that "the sub-theme of all I do is pro-natalism."

But faith, he says, is the necessary yeast for any secular movement, and religion has always been the driving force behind the family movement. In the same way that Carlson recalls the "strand of garrison life" that the cold war fight against Communism brought to American society, in the conservative Christian world that sees Europe as the measure of mankind's fall, a besieged war mentality is a given. In both Carlson's writings and in the work of Mary Pride and the Hesses, this is reflected in their description of patriarchal families as the basic "cellular units of society" that form a bulwark against Communism, as well as in the military-industrial terminology they assign to biblical gender roles within such "cells": the husband described as company CEO, the wife as plant manager and the children as workers. Or, in alternate form, the titles revised to reflect the Christian church's "constant state of war" with the world: "Commander in Chief" Jesus, the husband a "commanding officer" and his wife a "private" below him. And the kids? Presumably ammunition, arrows, weapons for the war.

Thus patriarchy, and its requirement that wives submit to their husbands, becomes a mission in itself, the inversion of a reactionary movement into a seeming revolution against modern society. As Pride writes, "Submission has a military air.... When the private is committed to winning the war, and is willing to subject his personal desires to the goal of winning, and is willing to follow the leader his Commander has put over him, that army stands a good chance of winning."

But how well are these arguments being received in the larger society? There are signs of denominations and churches picking up the Quiverfull philosophy, not least among these the statements made by Southern Baptist Theological Seminary president Al Mohler last year, who wrote that deliberate childlessness among Christian couples is "moral rebellion" and "an absolute revolt against God's design." Meanwhile, Phillip Longman hardly offers a left-wing counterpoint. Instead, he's searching—at the request of the Democratic Leadership Council, which published his policy proposals in its *Blueprint* magazine—for a way to appeal to the same voters Carlson is organizing: a typically "radical middle" quest to figure out how Democrats can make nice with Kansas.

"Who are these evangelicals?" asks Longman. "Is there anything about them that makes them inherently prowar and for tax cuts for the rich?" No, he concludes. "What's irreducible about these religious voters is that they're for the family." Asked whether the absolutist position Quiverfull takes on birth control, let alone abortion, might interfere with his strategy, Longman admits that abortion rights would have to take a back seat but that, in politics, "nobody ever gets everything they need."

Aside from the centrist tax policies Longman is crafting to rival Carlson's, he urges a return to patriarchy—properly understood, he is careful to note, as not just male domination but also increased male responsibility as husbands and fathers—on more universal grounds. Taking a long view as unsettling in its way as Pastor Bartly Heneghan's rapture talk, Longman says that no society can survive to reproduce itself without following patriarchy. "As secular and libertarian elements in society fail to reproduce, people adhering to more traditional, patriarchal values inherit society by default," Longman argues, pointing to cyclical demographic upheavals from ancient Greece and Rome to the present day, when falling birthrates have consistently augured conservative, even reactionary comebacks, marked by increased nationalism, religious fundamentalism and deep societal conservatism. Presenting a thinly veiled ultimatum to moderates and liberals,

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Dr. Luke Timothy Johnson is the Robert W. Woodruff Professor of New Testament and Christian Origins at Emory University's Candler School of Theology. He is the author of more than 20 books, including *The Real Jesus: The Misguided Quest for the Historical Jesus and the Truth of the Traditional Gospels,* and *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation,* which is used widely as a textbook.

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Longman cites the political sea change in the Netherlands in recent years, where, he charges, a population decline led to a vacuum that "Muslim extremists came in to fill." Though individual, nonpatriarchal elements of society may die out, he says, societies as a whole will survive and, "through a process of cultural evolution, a set of values and norms that can roughly be described as patriarchy reemerge."

Longman's answer to this threat is for progressives to beat conservatives by joining them, emulating the large patriarchal families that conservatives promote in order not to be overrun by a reactionary baby boom. Any mention of social good occurring in regions with low birthrates is swept away by the escalating rhetoric of a "birth dearth," a "baby bust," a dying hemisphere undone by its own progressive politics.

That's how Quiverfull mother Wendy Dufkin sees it, give or take a few mentions of the Lord's name: God is leading Quiverfull families at the head of a "return to patriarchy, to father-led families. Patriarchy may be a loaded word for some, but it's not for me. There are so many woman-led families, whether single mothers or families where the father is just absent. I think it's gone to such an extreme with those families for a while that now we're returning to another extreme, patriarchy."

She recounts the "seven stages of decline of the Roman Empire" as illustration: from men failing to lead their families to God, through adultery, divorce, homosexuality, barrenness, atheism and then, in the end, an invasion of barbarians from abroad.

The invasion, the war, is to be understood on both planes: the worldly war that a good patriot like Dufkin likely supports, and the spiritual war of the church, which will continue indefinitely. Where the two meet—in the generally low-income households of believers who feel bound to supply their children, their arrows for God—you might expect a clash of consciences, such as when Deidre Welch explains what she sees as a "media attitude" about bearing many children. "This idea of, why bring children into this world, a world of violence, just to get drafted?" The example seems poignant—her oldest son has just left for Iraq—but Welch remains optimistic, bearing in mind the biblical promise that "God can use your Quiverfull to bring up his army of belief." As a believer and a loving mother, perhaps she sees this path—worldwide redemption through spiritual and actual warfare—as the one that will lead to the end of wars, even if that path means the wars will be fought with arrows such as her son. ■

FARMERS' MARKETS HELP POOR PEOPLE TO EAT BETTER AND LOCAL AGRICULTURE TO SURVIVE.

A New Idea Grows in Alabama

MARK WINNE

Dr. Jill Foster was a practicing family physician in Cincinnati when she became increasingly dismayed treating preventable illnesses. "A young female patient of mine who weighed 200 pounds asked me, 'Doctor, am I obese?' Foster recalls. "When I told her she was, the poor child was devastated." As both a vegetarian and doctor, Foster knew that unhealthy diets were the root cause of many of her patients' problems. So rather than slog upstream through the quickening torrent of diet-related disease, she took leave from her practice to study nutritional science in Birmingham, Alabama.

EMILY FLAKE

Had she been looking for the fastest route to the belly of the beast, Foster couldn't have chosen a better place. According to the Trust for America's Health, Alabama has the second-highest level of adult obesity (28.9 percent) in the nation. For African-Americans the numbers are worse: 38 percent are obese. And 286,000 Alabamians, or about 6 percent of the state's population, have been diagnosed with diabetes, a number that has climbed by more than 50 percent since 1994.

As a new resident of Birmingham, Dr. Foster, a petite black woman, soon noticed that most of the people around her were at least fifty pounds heavier than she was. "Poverty has a lot to do with obesity," she noted, "and so does race. When you're poor, you eat what's cheap and what's available." She also found that the only vegetables available in the city's poorer neighborhoods were fried okra and fried green tomatoes.

Foster's experience comes as no surprise to researchers and community food advocates, who commonly use the term "food desert" to describe the lack of affordable, healthy food outlets across the country. In general, the data show that people living in lower-income, nonwhite communities must travel greater distances to reach well-stocked and reasonably priced food stores than people living in higher-income areas. Healthy food is also more expensive on a calorie-for-calorie basis than junk food. According to the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, the real cost of fresh fruits and vegetables has risen nearly 40 percent in the past twenty years, while the real cost of soda, sweets, fats and oils has gone down.

While Alabama's obesity rate tops the national charts, the state is beginning to distinguish itself for its efforts to improve its food environment. Tapping into Alabama's agrarian roots, community leaders, clergy and government officials are hoping that

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the agricultural sector can play a vigorous role in promoting healthy eating. But is this just wishful thinking in a state where cotton, peanuts and poultry are the dominant farm industries?

Skepticism is warranted. The homepage of Alabama's Department of Agriculture and Industry's website reads: "Our department has the responsibility to help the few family farmers that remain in business in any way that we can." This doesn't sound like a bureaucracy that can save itself, let alone the hundreds of thousands who are suffering from obesity.

But walk across the street in Montgomery's capital district and you'll find a more upbeat view from Don Wambles, executive director of the Alabama Farmers Market Authority. With the intention of helping farmers as well as nutritionally vulnerable consumers, Wambles has increased the number of Alabama farmers' markets from seventeen in 1999 to ninety today. With his leadership and the commitment of hundreds of community leaders, Alabama now has at least one market in nearly every one of its sixty-seven counties.

Wambles, a cotton and peanut farmer turned state bureaucrat, knows all the potholes on the road to agricultural survival. "Over the course of my farming career I'd have one good year in four," Wambles says. Like most other commodity producers, he found that his crop prices stayed flat while his input costs—fertilizer, equipment, fuel—went up. Though he had one of the biggest farms in Pike County, the bank told him he had to get bigger or get out. "I was tired of fighting a losing battle, so I got out." From the hard lessons he learned as a "price-taker" in the cotton and peanut markets, he decided to push his fellow farmers toward something they could control, namely fruit and vegetable production for direct sale to consumers.

But the push wasn't enough. Wambles also needed a "pull"—which he discovered in the form of a federally funded program with the ungainly title of The Women, Infants, and Children Farmers Market Nutrition Program (WIC/FMNP). The program, which Wambles brought to Alabama in 1999, provides coupons to lower-income mothers and children in annual amounts of only $20 per person to purchase fresh produce at farmers' markets. In 2001 he brought the newly established federal Senior Farmers Market Nutrition Program to the state. That program does the same as the WIC/FMNP but targets lower-income senior citizens. Together the two programs now serve 86,000 low-income Alabama mothers, children and seniors.

The FMNP's economic benefit to farmers was readily apparent to Wambles, but he also recognized the social benefit to low-income households. "I grew up real poor," he says. "My mother raised two boys on $3,672 per year plus $50 per month in child support from the State of Alabama. But I also study the Bible and it tells us to take care of one another."

Sally Allocca is a minister who reads the Bible, too. She's co-pastor of the East Lake Methodist Church in Birmingham's lower-income East Lake neighborhood, the site of one of Alabama's newest farmers' markets. She told me one Saturday over the market's hustle and bustle, "God put our church here to serve the people in this community, and East Lake is what is known in planner's jargon as a 'declining neighborhood.'" Noting the area's high proportions of single head-of-household families and elderly, she added, "Our church decided to concen-

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trate its resources on health issues because the neighborhood is so prone to heart disease and diabetes from obesity."

Hence the farmers' market, the inspiration for which Allocca got from Don Wambles, who planted the idea and then watered it with several thousand dollars of FMNP coupons. The reason for the coupons was simple: A new farmers' market in a so-called declining neighborhood is not going to attract farmers unless there is an incentive. No farmers, no fresh produce. Surveying the busy church parking lot, Allocca is happy with the results. "People are proud that this farmers' market is here. It's helping to turn this neighborhood around."

In an incremental way, the FMNP is beginning to modify farmer practices in the way Wambles is trying to encourage. Art Sessions grows 1,500 acres of pecans, cotton, and some fruits and vegetables just west of Mobile. Until recently he sold exclusively to the wholesale and commodity markets. But at Wambles's request, Sessions gave the new Mobile farmers' market a try, and as a result of his success there has been reducing his commodity-crop acreage and increasing his retail fruit and vegetable production. "Cotton subsidies might take a big hit in the next farm bill," he notes. But, he says, "over 25 percent of my vegetable sales now come from senior citizens and WIC moms, and many of them come back after they've used up their coupons. I must say that the FMNP is one of the few federal programs that really work."

State agency evaluations conclude that the coupons stimulate increased consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables. In Dr. Foster's opinion this is one way to attack the nation's obesity problem. "We have to look at the economics of food choices," she asserts, "and we have to make it easy and affordable to buy fresh fruits and vegetables."

But until Congress appropriates more money for the FMNP, Alabama and other participating states can't do more. Currently, Congress provides the WIC version with $20 million annually, divided among forty-five state agencies and federally recognized Indian tribal governments. The senior program receives $15 million, which is distributed to thirty-eight states. Thanks to Wambles's aggressiveness, Alabama has captured 1.8 million of those dollars. But that has been enough to reach only 20 percent of the state's WIC participants and 27 percent of the eligible seniors. If, for instance, Alabama received $8 million, 200,000 of the state's most nutritionally vulnerable residents would have a strong incentive to eat more fresh fruits and vegetables.

In the world of big agricultural subsidies, $8 million doesn't even show up as a rounding error. In fact, it would be 12 percent of the $66 million in cotton subsidies that went to 8,500 Alabama growers in 2004 ($1.65 billion in cotton subsidies were paid out nationally the same year). Given that the state spends $1.3 billion annually on obesity-related medical expenses, Alabama's citizens might expect a better rate of return from a higher investment in the FMNP, since greater fruit and vegetable consumption should reduce medical bills.

A well-funded FMNP could be part of a more rational US farm and food policy that puts the health needs of the consumer ahead of the needs of a relatively small number of large commodity-crop producers. As it stands now, a farmer can plant 1,000 acres of cotton and be guaranteed a price. But a farmer who plants collards, melons or carrots receives no price guarantee at all. A robust Farmers Market Nutrition Program wouldn't provide a guaranteed price, but it would encourage more farmers to grow fresh produce, fuel the growth of farmers' markets, especially in lower-income areas, and significantly improve the ability of consumers to purchase healthy food. ■

Letter From Canada
by Chris Hedges

THE NEW CHRISTIAN RIGHT

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Toronto

When things get bad in the United States it is reassuring to turn to Canada, a country with a high standard of living, a small military and a national healthcare plan. Canada always seemed to be, if a bit duller than America, also a bit saner.

But this is changing. The new Canadian prime minister, Stephen Harper, inspired by the neocons to the south, appears determined to visit the worst excesses of George Bush's presidency on his own country. He plans to pull Canada out of the Kyoto Protocol and expand military spending. He defended Israel's massive bombing of southern Lebanon, even as Israeli warplanes bombed a clearly marked UN observation post, killing a Canadian peacekeeper. He was the first world leader to cut off funding after Hamas took over the Palestinian Authority. The decision was made despite Hamas having taken power after winning democratic elections that not only were recognized as free and fair but fulfilled demands made by the West. Harper has extended the mission for the 2,200 Canadian soldiers fighting in Afghanistan, where forty-two have died so far. He has slashed $1 billion in funding that assists the most vulnerable Canadians, including cuts in adult literacy programs, legal aid to gays and lesbians, and measures to assist unemployed youth, despite a near-record surplus of $13.2 billion for 2005–06. If the Bush Administration launches an attack on Iran there is little doubt that Harper would line up behind Washington.

Chris Hedges, a senior fellow at The Nation Institute, a former foreign correspondent for the New York Times *and a graduate of Harvard Divinity School, is the author of* War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning *(Anchor). He has spent the past two years researching and writing about the Christian right. His new book,* American Fascists: The Christian Right and the War on America, *will be published by the Free Press in January.*

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When the Canadian prime minister was asked about Iran before his recent speech to the UN General Assembly, he called Iran "the biggest single threat the planet faces." And he sneers at Canada's long tradition of antimilitarism and generous social services, once calling Canada "a second-tier socialistic country, boasting ever more loudly about its...social services to mask its second-rate status."

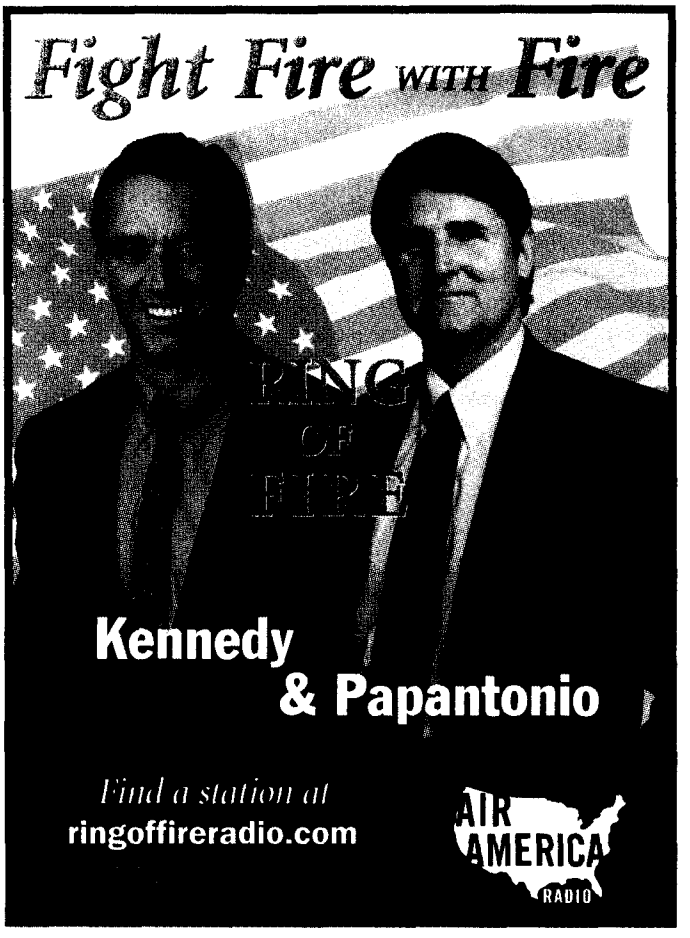
But that is not the worst of it. The prime minister, who has begun, in very un-Canadian fashion, to close his speeches with the words "God Bless Canada," is also a born-again Christian. And Harper is rapidly building an alliance with the worst elements of the US Christian right.

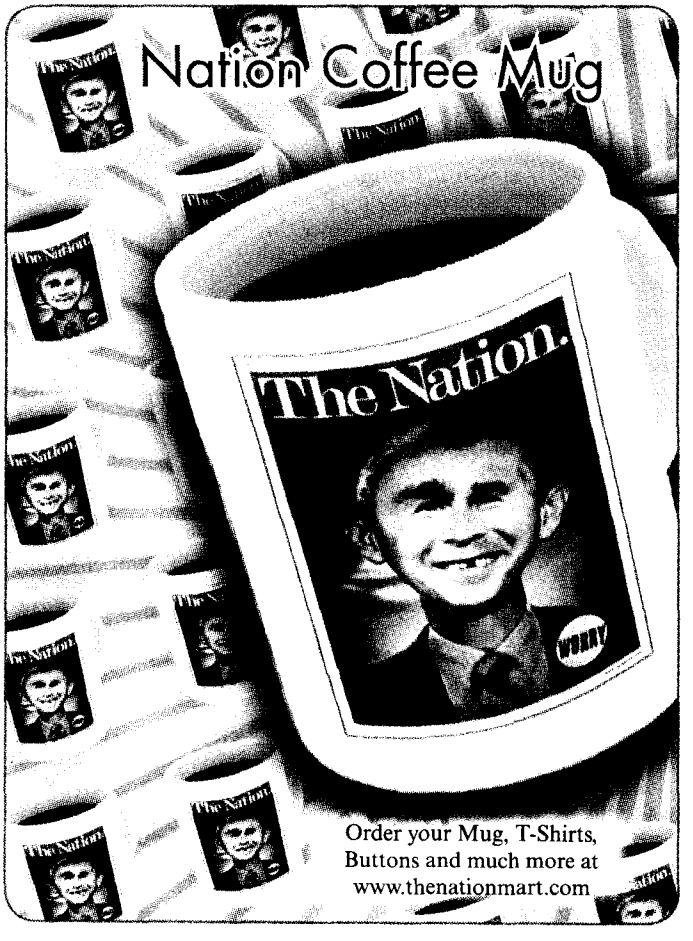
Harper, who heads a minority government, is a member of the East Gate Alliance Church, part of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, a denomination with 400,000 members that believes in the literal word of the Bible, faith-healing and the imminent return of Jesus Christ. Women cannot be ordained in his church, homosexuality is a sin and abortion is murder. Canada, however, is unused to public displays of faith, and Harper has had to tread more lightly than George Bush. But many fear the prime minister is taking a cue from the Bush Administration and slowly mobilizing Canada's 3.5 million evangelicals—along with the 44 percent of Canadians who say they have committed themselves to Christ—as a power base. Harper has spent the past three years methodically knitting a coalition of social conservatives and evangelicals that looks ominously similar to the American model.

"While the Ottawa press corps has been preoccupied with Harper's ability to keep the most blooper-prone Christians in his caucus buttoned up, he has quietly but determinedly nurtured a coalition of evangelicals, Catholics, and conservative Jews that brought him to power and that will put every effort into ensuring that he stays there," wrote Marci McDonald in the October issue of the Canadian magazine *Walrus*.

Harper's Conservative government, for the first time since the January 2006 election that brought him to power, is tied in the polls with the Liberal Party, which is locked in a leadership battle that includes frontrunner Michael Ignatieff, a prolific author on ethnic conflict, a former Harvard professor and a vocal supporter of the Iraq War. A poll done for the Toronto *Globe and Mail* and CTV News has the Conservatives and Liberals tied with 32 percent support, although no date has been set for new elections.

Harper's combination of bellicosity, slash-and-burn attitude toward Canadian social programs and religious fervor makes many Canadians nervous. Unfortunately for Canada, Harper has a lot of American help. James Dobson has set up a Canadian branch of his Focus on the Family three blocks from the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. The organization, called the Institute of Marriage and Family Canada, provides political expertise to and otherwise supports Harper's allies in the bid to turn Canada into an Americanized Christian state. Dobson, who rails against Canada's defense of gay rights and legalization of same-sex marriage, buys radio time in Canada to attack the nation's tolerance of gays and calls for legislation to roll back these measures. The proliferation of new Christian groups is dizzying, with organizations such as the National House of Prayer, the Institute for Canadian Values and the Canada Family Action Coalition, whose mission is "to see





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Judeo-Christian moral principles restored in Canada," publishing election guides, working with sympathetic legislators and mobilizing Canadian evangelicals in local and national campaigns. These groups turn frequently to American Christian leaders like Jerry Falwell, who came to Canada two years ago for an "Emergency Pastors Briefing" to rally 400 evangelical ministers against a bill before Parliament that included a provision making it a hate crime to denounce homosexuals. Other stalwarts, like former Christian Coalition leader Ralph Reed and televangelist John Hagee, have come north to spread their toxic message to the newly energized Canadian evangelical church. And in the Harper government they have found not only a willing convert but an important ally.

Harper's hold on power, like that of George Bush, is shaky. He too has no clear mandate to transform Canada, but this has not stopped his minority government from steadily undermining social programs and a once enlightened foreign policy that liberal Americans could only envy. The tools he is using are familiar to many Americans, who stood sleepily by as Pat Robertson and other religious bigots hijacked the Republican Party and moved into the legislative and executive branches of government. As I walk the windy streets of Toronto I wonder if those who push past me will wake up and see in Harper's government our own malaise or watch passively as Canada becomes a demented reflection of George Bush's America. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

A FAR, FAR BETTER REST THAT I GO TO

Kansas City, Kans.

■ I enjoyed Richard Goldstein's "Death Trip" [Oct. 23]. When he asked, "Where is our Dickens?" I wanted to point out Studs Terkel. His 2001 book, *Will the Circle Be Unbroken?: Reflections on Death, Rebirth, and Hunger for a Faith*, related more than sixty true-life memoirs about death and how people have coped with it. One by Tammy Snider spoke of her harrowing experience of surviving the atomic attack on Hiroshima. Terkel's collection of genuine narratives about death speaks dearly of the preciousness of life. EARL NISSEN

WELCOME, WALTER

Stanford, Calif.

■ I read Walter Mosley's "Cultural Famine: A Cycle" [Oct. 23] the same day the *New York Times* reported that a health insurance executive whose salary is $19 million a year had to give back his portion of $1.78 billion in backdated stock options. The local weekly was reporting that our neighborhood grocery store may have to close because developers want to build a highrise and upscale shops on the site. In the first case, huge profits are made from people's illness while millions of Americans go without medical care or have trouble paying their bills. In the second case, a family-owned grocery that has a union contract, sells high-quality produce and serves a community full of elderly people and students without cars may have to leave so developers can make ever-higher profits. Walter Mosley's reference to "a basic contradiction in our current definition of power and success" was very much to the point. I'm glad he has joined *The Nation*.

RACHELLE MARSHALL

Beaverton, Ore.

■ For the first time in a very long time, I have been moved to tears. It's been too long since I saw something so inspiring, so moving and so full of hope that I let loose with an emotional torrent. What moved me was the wonderful column by Walter Mosley. He paints a stark picture of the state of society, yet there is great optimism in his writing. Despite all our setbacks, despite the ultraconservative push to pursue wealth and power over all else, there are still people out there who are good, kind and thoughtful. Not everyone is money-grubbing and self-centered. The sentiment is best expressed here: "It is not the questing after wealth and property that made us great but the belief in the rights of all human beings." Thank you, Mr. Mosley, for renewing my faith in humanity.

BRITTANY MEYER-STROM

MILLER THE JOB KILLER

Evanston, Ill.

■ Bob Moser's "Virginia's Rumbling Rebels" [Oct. 23], a basically fair portrayal of the Jim Webb Senate campaign, contains a sin of omission. It refers to Webb's primary opponent, Harris Miller, as a "longtime corporate lobbyist" and tells of a flier put out by the Webb campaign on Miller's role in outsourcing jobs that was widely seen as anti-Semitic. What this omits is that Miller is not your garden-variety corporate lobbyist. Harris Miller was the head of the Information Technology Association of America, which has led the effort each year to get Congress to raise the quotas on H1B immigrants, who are frequently used to undercut the salaries and even the jobs of US computer programmers. Miller and the ITAA are well-known as opponents of organizations like the Communications Workers of America's Techs Unite, who have tried to oppose this trend. Miller's activities were fair game for Webb, and attempts to spin his attacks as anti-Semitism were irrelevant and deplorable. STEVE COHEN

TOUJOURS FIDEL

Chicago

■ Ned Sublette's "Fidel Lives" [Oct. 9] is one of the best articles on Cuba I have read in a long time. Unlike the thoughtless speculation in the mainstream press on what will happen in a Cuba without Fidel, Sublette provided both information and insight. DEBRA EVENSON

Poland, Ohio

■ Ned Sublette demonstrates an ability to report a complex issue covering more than fifty years. Unfortunately, our government with all its resources cannot arrive at a sensible Cuba policy. Having traveled to Cuba over the past twenty years and having lived there during the late Batista regime and early revolutionary period, as well as having followed the path of US policy with respect to Cuba through most of the media (including *El Nuevo Herald* and Carlos Montaner) as well as academic writings, I admire Sublette's accurate evaluation of the state of Cuban affairs.

MILTON SANCHEZ-PARODI

Winter Park, Fla.

■ While there's satisfaction in watching Havana twist its thumb in Washington's eye for forty-seven years, Havana has, during those decades, twisted its own balls with the other hand. Marvel, if you will, at Fidel's longevity, but the Cuban people those long years have endured his megalomania and his fiats against civil liberties. That Castro must defend against a rapacious United States will not absolve him. As our own murderous *jefe* has made clear, all despots invoke the imminent enemy in order to quash dissent at home. Forty-seven years is a long time without a multi-candidate election or the right to read *Animal Farm*. Sublette's soft-core paean to the man who cries "*Libertad!*" while executing his show-trial prisoners is tiresome.

STEVE KRONEN

DRIVING WHILE MUSLIM—II

Jonesville, Ky.

■ Re Spencer Ackerman's "Driving While Muslim" [Oct. 9]: As a Muslim woman who wears a complete covering, I have been stopped and surrounded here in the state of Kentucky while driving my children to a home-schooling cooperative. I definitely do not look at the people beside me at a light. I was photographed at a gas station in Lexington as I got gas for my car, which had my children in it. The paranoia is astounding. ALAA MENCKE

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

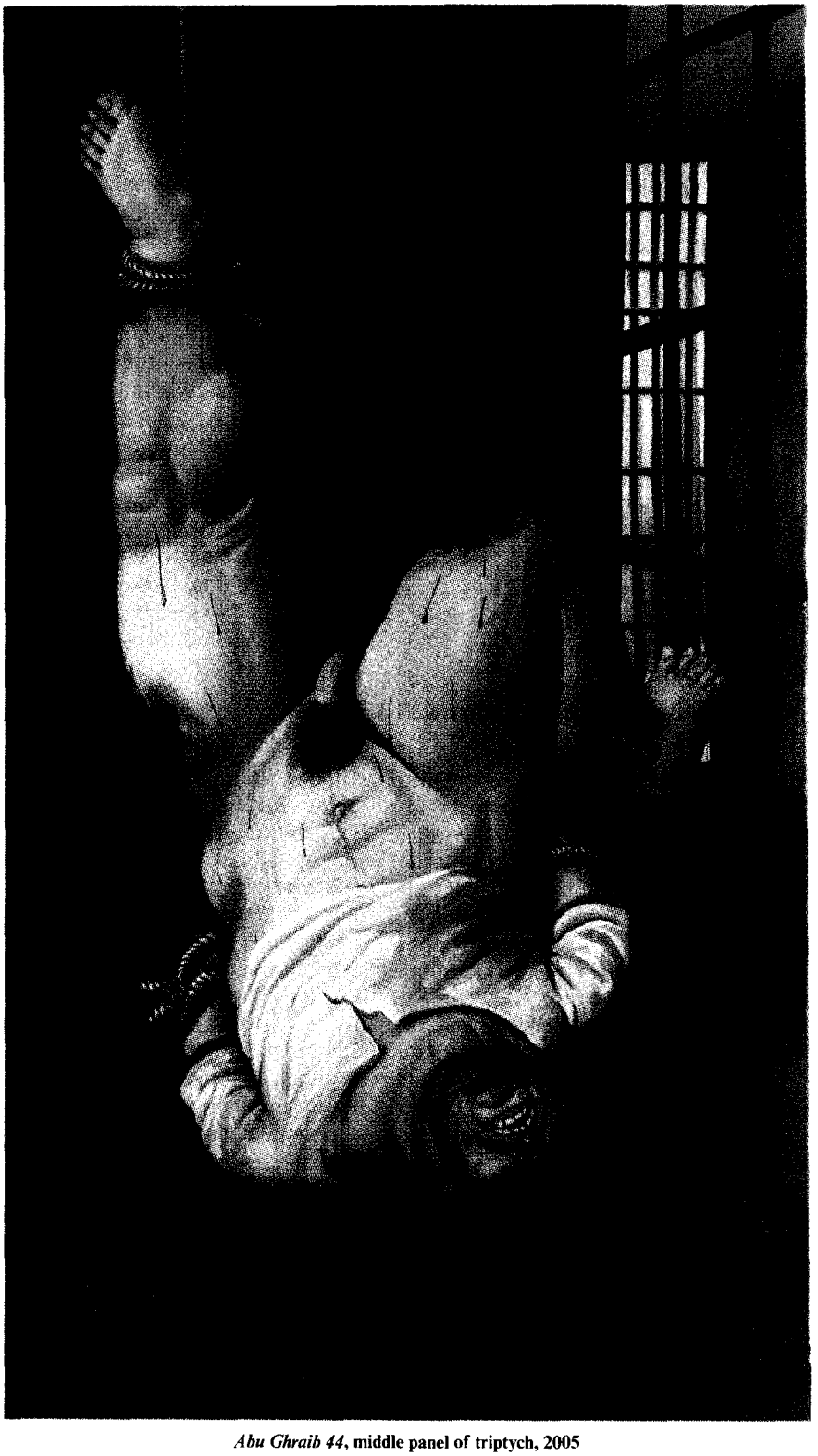
The Body in Pain

ARTHUR C. DANTO

Colombian artist Fernando Botero is famous for his depictions of blimpy figures that verge on the ludicrous. New Yorkers may recall the outdoor display of Botero's bronze figures, many of them nude, in the central islands of Park Avenue in 1993. Their bodily proportions insured that their nakedness aroused little in the way of public indignation. They were about as sexy as the Macy's balloons, and their seemingly inflated blandness lent them the cheerful and benign look one associates with upscale folk art. The sculptures were a shade less ingratiating, a shade more dangerous than one of Walt Disney's creations, but in no way serious enough to call for critical scrutiny. Though transparently modern, Botero's style is admired mainly by those outside the art world. Inside the art world, critic Rosalind Krauss spoke for many of us when she dismissed Botero as "pathetic."

When it was announced not long ago that Botero had made a series of paintings and drawings inspired by the notorious photographs showing Iraqi captives, naked, degraded, tortured and humiliated by American soldiers at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison, it was easy to feel skeptical—wouldn't Botero's signature style humorize and cheapen this horror? And it was hard to imagine that paintings by *anyone* could convey the horrors of Abu Ghraib as well as—much less better than—the photographs themselves. These ghastly images of violence and humiliation, circulated on the Internet, on television and in newspapers throughout the world, were hardly in need of artistic amplification. And if any artist was to re-enact this theater of cruelty, Botero did not seem cut out for the job.

As it turns out, his images of torture, now on view at the Marlborough Gallery in midtown Manhattan and compiled in the book *Botero Abu Ghraib*, are masterpieces of what I have called disturbatory art—art whose point and purpose is to make vivid and objective our most frightening subjective thoughts. Botero's astonishing works make us realize this: We knew that Abu Ghraib's prisoners were suffering, but we



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***Abu Ghraib 44*, middle panel of triptych, 2005**

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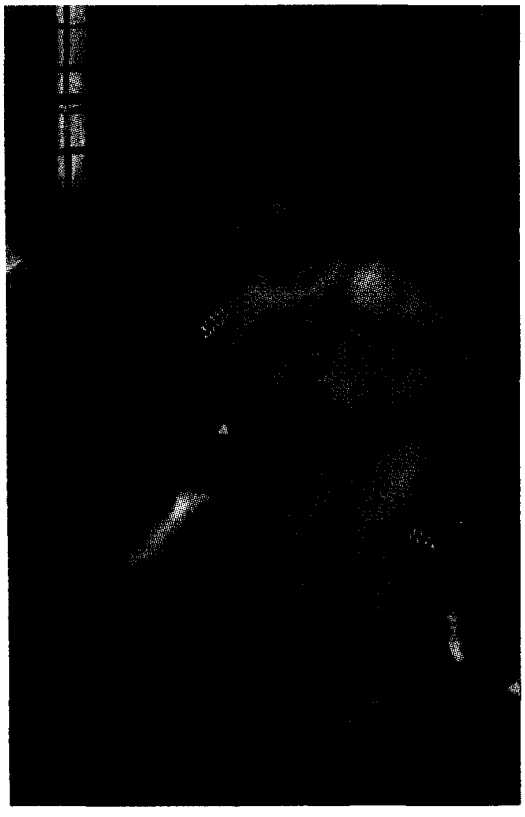
did not feel that suffering as ours. When the photographs were released, the moral indignation of the West was focused on the grinning soldiers, for whom this appalling spectacle was a form of entertainment. But the photographs did not bring us closer to the agonies of the victims.

Botero's images, by contrast, establish a visceral sense of identification with the



PRESTEL PUBLISHING

Abu Ghraib 52, 2005

victims, whose suffering we are compelled to internalize and make vicariously our own. As Botero once remarked: "A painter can do things a photographer can't do, because a painter can make the invisible visible." What is invisible is the felt anguish of humiliation, and of pain. Photographs can only show what is visible; what Susan Sontag memorably called the "pain of others" lies outside their reach. But it can be conveyed in painting, as Botero's Abu Ghraib series reminds us, for the limits of photography are not the limits of art. The mystery of painting, almost forgotten since the Counter-Reformation, lies in its power to generate a kind of illusion that has less to do with pictorial perception than it does with feeling.

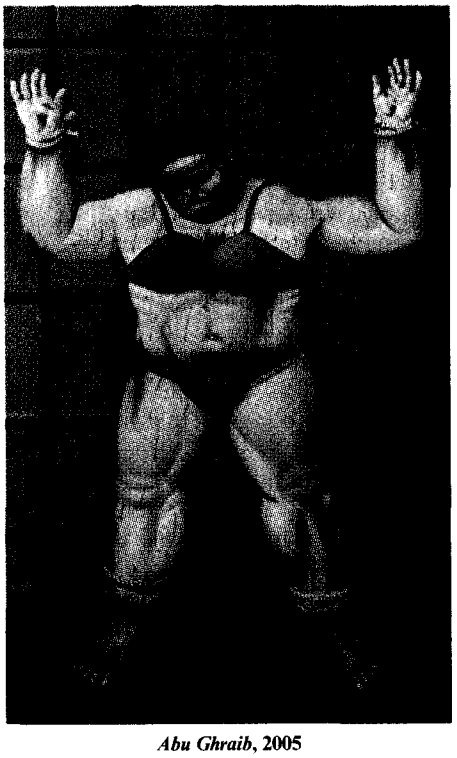
The Catholic Church understood this well when, in the final session of the 1563 Council of Trent, it decided to use visual art as a weapon in its battle with the Reformation. One of the pillars of the Reformation's agenda was its iconoclasm—its opposition to the use of religious imagery, over which the church enjoyed a virtual monopoly. The Reformation feared that images themselves would be worshiped, which was idolatry. The Catholic response was to harness the power of images in the service of faith. Artists were instructed to create images of clarity, simplicity, intelligibility and realism that would serve as an emotional stimulus to piety. As the great art historian Rudolph Wittkower observed:

> Many of the stories of Christ and the saints deal with martyrdom, brutality, and horror and in contrast to Renaissance idealization, an unveiled display of truth was now deemed essential; even Christ must be shown "afflicted, bleeding, spat upon, with his skin torn, wounded, deformed, pale, and unsightly," if the subject requires it. It is these "correct" images that are meant to appeal to the emotions of the faithful and support or even transcend the spoken word.

It took more than twenty years for artists to devise a style that executed these directives, and there can be little doubt that the art of the Baroque was successful in its mission. The art achieved extraordinary precision in the depiction of suffering and hence in the arousal of sympathetic identification. It is often noted that we live in an image-rich culture, and so we do. But most of the images we see are photographs, and their effect can be dulling, if not desensitizing. To elicit the kinds of feelings at which the Counter-Reformation aimed, photographs now often need to be enhanced. Mel Gibson's film *The Passion of the Christ* is not realistic in the sense in which photography is realistic: It is enhanced and amplified, showing Jesus "afflicted, bleeding, spat upon, with his skin torn, wounded, deformed, pale and unsightly," in a manner that would have pleased the Council of Trent. Sontag was right: Photography must be augmented—with text, she proposed—if we are to feel the pain it shows. A picture may be worth a thousand words, as the cliché goes, but a photograph does not speak for itself. At the least it requires the skilled augmentations of Photoshop—at which point, of course, visual truth is sacrificed on the altar of feeling.

The Abu Ghraib photographs are essentially snapshots, larky postcards of soldiers enjoying their power, as their implied message—"Having a wonderful time.... Wish you were here"—attests. The nude, bound bodies of the prisoners are heaped up like the bodies of tigers in Victorian photographs of smiling viceroys displaying the day's hunt. There must be a quantitative impulse in the expression of gloating—think of the strings of fish held up in snapshots taken after fishing trips, yellowing on the walls of seafood stores. In another artistic response to Abu Ghraib, British painter Gerald Laing lifted the backdrop of Grant Wood's *American Gothic* but replaced the two farmers with the American MPs Lynndie England and Charles Graner, signaling thumbs-up with their blue-rubber-gloved hands above a pile of bare-bottomed bodies. The Americans are in bright poster colors, while the bodies are gray and evidently cut from a newspaper photograph, reproduced with the dots of a coarse Benday screen. It is witty and a bit sickening, but it does not call up the feelings of a Baroque evocation of martyrdom.

Or, for that matter, of Botero's Abu Ghraib series, which draws on his knowledge of the graphic, even lurid paintings of Christ's martyrdom by Latin American Baroque artists, in which Jesus bleeds from the crown of thorns, or from the wounds left by lance points in his ravaged chest. Abu Ghraib, in Botero's rendering, also evokes Baroque prisons, like those one sees in the paintings titled *Roman Charity*, where a visiting daughter breast-feeds her chained father in the gloomy light of his cell. Although the prisoners are painted in his signature style, his much-maligned mannerism intensifies our engagement with the pictures. This is partly because the prisoners' heavy flesh—broken and bleeding from beatings—looks all the more vulnerable to the pain inflicted. While their



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Abu Ghraib, 2005

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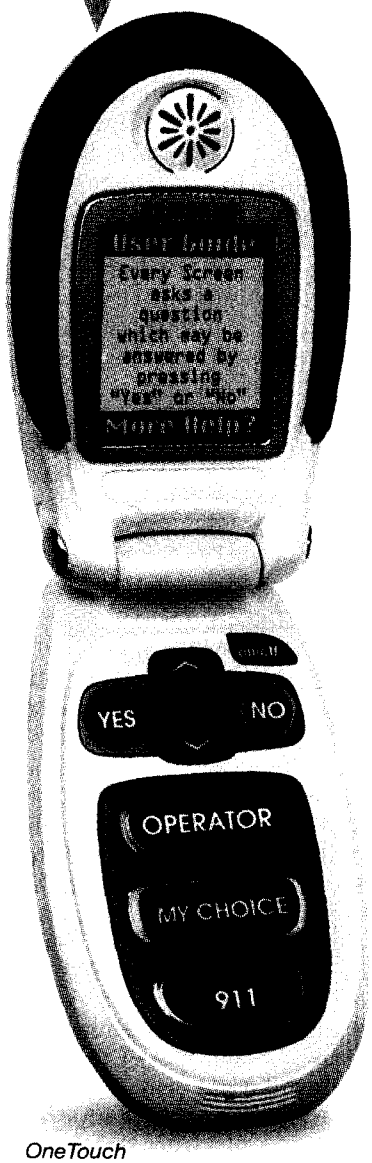

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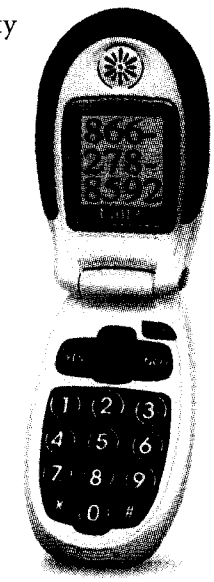

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faces are largely covered with hoods, blindfolds and women's underpants, their mouths are twisted into expressions of pain or agony. Their arms and sometimes their legs are bound with thick rope, and sometimes a figure is suspended by his leg, or tethered by all four limbs to the crisscross of bars that form a cell wall. Everyone is nude, except when wearing female underwear, which the Americans evidently considered the supreme form of humiliation. In some paintings, a prisoner is sprayed with urine by a guard who lies outside the frame. Broomsticks protrude from bleeding anuses; hooded men lie in their feces. Several of the paintings feature savage dogs that look like demons in medieval scenes of hell.

None of these works are for sale—Botero has said he has no interest in profiting from them. He has offered them as a collection to a number of American museums, but none have been willing to accept them, I dare say for the same reason that the Marlborough Gallery, when I visited the show, had someone searching bags and backpacks—not a common sight in commercial galleries.

Botero rather ingenuously suggested that, just as few would remember Guernica were it not for Picasso's painting, Abu Ghraib might be forgotten if he did not make this series. But Abu Ghraib was a world event, rather than an incidental horror of war like Guernica. Yet unlike Picasso's painting, a Cubist work that can serve a purely decorative function if one is unaware of its meaning, Botero's Abu Ghraib series immerses us in the experience of suffering. The pain of others has seldom felt so close, or so shaming to its perpetrators. ■

The Business of America

GEORGE SCIALABBA

THE AMERICAN WAY OF STRATEGY: U.S. Foreign Policy and the American Way of Life.
By Michael Lind. Oxford. 294 pp. $24.

EMPIRE'S WORKSHOP: Latin America, the United States and the Rise of the New Imperialism.
By Greg Grandin. Metropolitan. 286 pp. $25.

"The powerful exact what they can and the weak grant what they must," the Athenians told the Melians. What do the powerful want? Athens and Rome wanted tribute; Britain wanted raw materials and new markets; Nazi Germany wanted slaves; the Soviet Union wanted international proletarian revolution (guided by a proper vanguard party, of course), as well as not to be invaded again. And the United States?

The majority view among lay Americans and the overwhelming consensus among respectable intellectuals is that there is something distinctive, perhaps unique, about the balance of idealism and material interests in the history of American foreign policy. Although the United States is strong enough to do so, it has not, with few exceptions, extracted tribute from or directly administered other countries. It earned the permanent gratitude of humankind by helping the Soviet Union defeat Nazi Germany and then checking the westward advance of the Red Army, as well as by allowing Taiwan and South Korea, among others, to avoid the horrors of Maoism and Stalinism and evolve into stable democracies. Moreover, the public and even private pronouncements of American statesmen have been heavily freighted with professions of benign intent, to a degree that makes unflagging hypocrisy a less than plausible explanation, if only on psychological grounds. It follows (according to the consensus) that American foreign policy generally, including military interventions, deserves credit for good intentions, whatever mistakes were made in carrying them out.

Like all conventional wisdom, this consensus contains several grains of truth, most of them enumerated in the preceding paragraph. Whether these justify the above conclusion is another matter. Two voices dissent from the consensus. On the right, "realists" believe that, like every other state that ever was or will be, the United States is dominated by elites with definite (though not unchanging) views of the "national interest." America's interest will not always be compatible with those of other nations, and the elites' views will not always agree with the majority's views; hence conflict is inevitable. External conflicts present a strategic problem, to be resolved by diplomacy or military force; internal conflicts present a public-relations problem, to be resolved by the manufacture of consent. There are no moral problems.

The dissident left agrees with much of this as a description but does have a moral problem—several, in fact. Is there a genuinely "national" interest? Even if there is, don't elite definitions of it nearly always correspond to the special interests of those elites? Are such matters really too complicated for the majority to appraise without manipulation? Do nations have fundamentally conflicting interests, making cooperation between them possible only within narrow limits? Is it really impossible to constrain the use of military force within a framework of international law, even though the potential costs of such violence are rapidly escalating beyond nearly any conceivable benefit? When reckoning such costs, shouldn't other innocent people's sufferings count as much as our own?

Michael Lind is hard to place, in this and other respects. In three previous books, *The Next American Nation* (1995), *Up From Conservatism* (1996) and *The Radical Center* (2001, cowritten with Ted Halstead), he offered quite a few shrewd analyses of American history and politics, along with some imaginative and detailed policy proposals for a "new social contract." Though hardly the last word, these proposals combined equity, originality and a willingness to upset both liberals and (particularly) conservatives in impressive proportions.

Lind turned to international affairs with *Vietnam: The Necessary War* (1999). It was bold but not exactly original: a vigorous defense of America's intervention and an unapologetic vindication of the domino theory. Lind did not deny the essentials of the antiwar case: that the American-sponsored regime had (and deserved) little popular support; that the insurgency had considerable popular support and would easily have won a fair election; and that American firepower caused horrendous suffering. But, he replied, the result of not intervening might well have been far more horrendous suffering elsewhere. There was, after all, an international Communist conspiracy to rule the world. Communism in its prevalent Stalinist and Maoist forms was as bad as Nazism. Preventing global Communist domination required the unity of the major democracies, which depended on their faith in American resolve, which had to be periodically demonstrated: "Per-

George Scialabba is a book critic and the author of Divided Mind *(Arrowsmith).*

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Relaxation therapy for your feet

Visco-elastic foam has changed the way people sleep, now it helps the way you walk.

by Leigh Ligon

My feet hurt! How many times have you heard *or* said that...standing in line at the grocery store or simply while doing daily routine tasks? I feel like the older I get the more my feet ache. I've tried elevating my feet, soaking them in a hot water and expensive massage therapy—but to no avail. That's why I'm so excited to tell you about my recent discovery—CLOUD 10 Slippers!

How did a NASA invention save my feet? From the moment I slipped them on, they molded to the shape of my feet like I had a custom fit pair of slippers made especially for me! The slipper's insole is made from visco-elastic memory foam originally created by NASA. This foam equalizes pressure, reduces stress and tension and provides incredible comfort.

According to the American Podiatric Medical Association, as people age, their feet tend to spread, and lose the fatty pads that cushion the bottom of the feet. Additional weight can affect the bone and ligament structure. These slippers mold to the contours of my feet through my body's heat and weight, literally cushioning every single step I take.

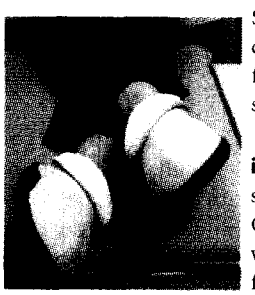
Technologically advanced slippers mold to the contours of your feet making each step feel like you're walking on Cloud 10!

Did you know that the average person takes 8,000 to 10,000 steps a day, which adds up to about 115,000 miles over a lifetime? That's enough to go around the circumference of the earth four times. No wonder we all have tired, aching feet.

I've heard about similar kinds of slippers, but I couldn't afford to spend nearly $70 a pair. The Cloud 10 Slippers were a much better fit for my budget. The outer material of these stylish slippers is beautiful tan faux suede and they feature a cozy, fleece-lined interior and collar to provide added warmth. The durable rubber sole is perfect for my quick trips outdoors to grab the morning paper.

❖ *Inner sole is constructed from visco-elastic memory foam*
❖ *Body heat molds foam to cushion feet for maximum support*
❖ *Super-soft, fleece lining provides added warmth*
❖ *Durable rubber sole—perfect for quick outdoor trips!*

If you have arthritic feet like I do, you suffer from inflammation and pain in your joints. Our feet have to last a lifetime and I've decided to stop neglecting the part of my body that keeps me mobile.



These slippers have a unisex design making them great for both men and women. I wear my Cloud 10 Slippers every chance I get and my feet have never felt so pampered.

Sink your feet into luxury. We are so confident that CLOUD 10 slippers will cushion your feet in complete comfort that we will offer you a no-questions asked in-home trial for 30 days. If you're not 100% completely satisfied just return them for a full refund of the purchase price.

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ceived power is power." Vietnam was a "credibility" war, because "credibility [was] deterrence"; and since what was being deterred was absolute evil, credibility was absolutely necessary. QED. Besides, in the aftermath of successful popular insurgencies, even if abundantly justified by local conditions, the Stalinists and Maoists—fanatical, unscrupulous, assisted by Moscow and Beijing—invariably defeated the democrats. However much suffering the US invasion imposed on Indochina, the alternative, for the Indochinese, promised to be—and in the event was—worse.

It is a familiar argument, never more plausibly presented than here, with Lind's customarily amazing brio. What made it plausible, however—whether valid or not—was Lind's and the domino theorists' implied characterization of the cold war as anomalous, a supreme emergency, an unavoidable response to an unprecedentedly powerful and implacable totalitarian menace. American hegemony undoubtedly covered a multitude of very grievous sins, but surely nothing could have been worse than the spread of Stalinist and Maoist tyranny.

But in that case, now that the cold war has ended and the threat of Stalinism and Maoism has, for the foreseeable future, disappeared, isn't it time to acknowledge some of those sins and atone for them, or at least stop committing them? Time to ask why continued American hegemony is necessary, what global "grand strategy" is good for, what international power politics can possibly be about today, when capitalism rules the roost and territorial empire is passé? One might have expected the intrepid Lind to have grasped the nettle and addressed these questions. Instead, his final chapter, "The Genuine Lessons of the Vietnam War," merely assured us that "maximal realists" like Acheson, Nitze and Kissinger were right all along and that the United States must maintain "global military primacy" for the sake of "hegemonic credibility" in defense of what he calls elsewhere in the book "the world-order interests" of the United States and its allies. "The case for U.S. foreign policy," he concluded majestically, "rests on the coincidence of the general interest of humanity and the particular interest of the United States." Even during the cold war, this formulation would (or should) have raised a good many doubts. Now it plainly won't do at all.

We mourn the passing of Clifford Geertz, whose eloquent, erudite work helped to transform the study of culture and Islam.

Lind seems to have understood this. With his usual lack of diffidence, he has written a new book explaining what American foreign policy is, always has been and must be about. *The American Way of Strategy* begins with a civics lesson. The American Creed is "democratic republican liberalism": limited government in a society based on the dominance of "a free, educated, prosperous middle-class citizenry." The chief threat to this way of life is not, and never has been, external conquest but rather the potentially excessive costs of self-defense, which drain our resources and curtail our liberties. We need to prevent imperialism and anarchy abroad but at the same time avoid becoming a garrison state.

Traditionally, American statesmen have pursued this goal via two complementary strategies: liberal internationalism and realism. The United States promotes national self-determination and basic human rights—by example and exhortation rather than brute force, preferably. But force is necessary, too, to deter aggression or "intimidation by means short of conquest." Peace in a world of states is maintained, according to realists, through hegemony (the informal dominance of a single state), a concert of power (the dominance of two or more states) or a balance of power (rival alliances of roughly equal strength). Same as in the schoolyard.

"For more than two centuries," as Lind sees it, "the main motive for American security strategy has been the fear, sometimes unreasonable but usually justified, of other great powers." We had to grab Florida, Texas, California and Oregon, or the British, French or Russians would have. The dispossession of Native Americans was regrettable, but they could never have held out against the European powers, and if they had, North America would have been balkanized. We had to dominate the Caribbean and Central America, as well as annex Hawaii and Samoa, to prevent Germany from doing so. We only sought a protectorate over the Philippines to keep the Germans, not to mention the Japanese, out; likewise, our intervention in the Russian civil war was really about preventing Japan from invading Siberia.

Well, suppose all of these rivals had gone in, and we, in all cases, had minded our own business? We durstn't, Lind retorts: The costs of maintaining our independence and prosperity as merely one state among several on the North American continent would have severely cramped "the individualistic American way of life." Likewise, we had no choice but to fight World War I. Woodrow Wilson feared that, in the words of one historian, "America's democratic system would be subverted by the huge military buildup that the United States would require to protect itself from the German hegemon." Making the rest of the world safe for democracy was an afterthought. "The United States entered World War I in order to save the American way of life, not from a German conquest of the United States, but from the need to sacrifice American liberty in order to preserve American independence in a world dominated by Imperial Germany by constructing a regimented Fortress America."

And then, "a generation later, for the same reason, the United States went to war with Germany again." Lind approvingly quotes an interwar American diplomat's warning against isolationism:

> [We would be] left alone in a friendless totalitarian world, forced to adjust [our] democratic economy under pressure from across both oceans.... Our enemies would have under their flags 80 to 90 percent of the human race. They would command the oceans outside the zone of our effective naval and air patrol near our shores.... We should have to be a whole nation of "Minutemen," ready to rush to arms at the first sign of invasion. Our children would not, of course, expect to enjoy "a better world" under such conditions.

After World War II, we once again had no choice. With satellites in Eastern Europe, popular-front governments likely in Western Europe and revolution brewing in China, Korea and Vietnam, "Stalin was poised to inherit the world." The cold war was not a tragic misunderstanding but the inevitable result of "Soviet aspirations to dominate Europe and Asia." True, Lind concedes, the Soviet Union was far weaker than the United States, but "intimidation and subversion, rather than conquest, were the preferred weapons in the Soviet arsenal." If checkmating Soviet designs meant—as it did—helping business elites (including quite a few collaborators) in Germany, France, Italy, Japan and South Korea to crush unruly labor movements that had borne the brunt of fascist oppression and now thought themselves entitled to a share of power, then so be it. Labor movements were rife with Communists, after all; and as Kissinger sensibly asked two decades later, Why should a country be allowed to go Communist because of the irresponsibility of its people? If moderate democrats or social democrats had to be overthrown in Iran, Guatemala and Chile and replaced by violent, undemocratic probusiness regimes; if mur-

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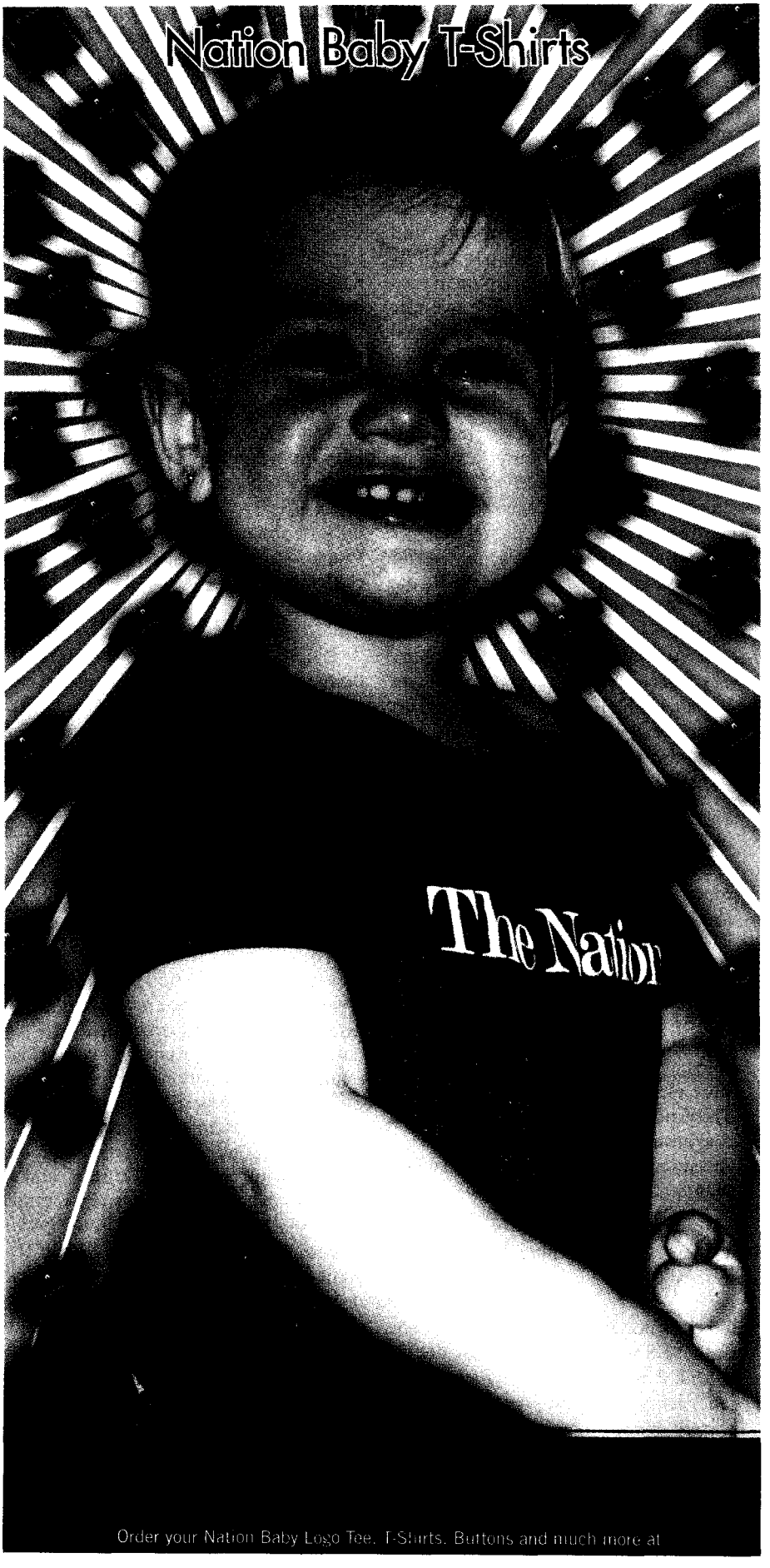
derous and/or kleptocratic dictators and juntas had to be supported in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Colombia, Honduras, El Salvador, Haiti, Panama, Greece, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, Zaire, Indonesia and the Philippines; if, sadly, it took an appalling amount of oppression to keep the Free World free... well, history is cruel. It was Communism's fault, ultimately, for threatening "the individualistic American way of life."

Let's let bygones be bygones, however, at least for the moment. I don't believe it was necessary for the United States to wage a savage war against democracy and independent development throughout the Third World—as we did—in order to keep the blight of Stalinism and Maoism from spreading. But since I don't know exactly how I would have kept it from spreading, I won't press the point.

How about after the cold war? With the supreme emergency now over, should the United States stand down? Both neoliberals and neoconservatives have answered no: We have to maintain global military primacy indefinitely. As a 1992 Defense Department plan put it, allies and rivals alike must be discouraged from "challenging our leadership or seeking to overturn the established political and economic order." Lind respectfully disagrees. Permanent US military hegemony raises no moral problems, of course—Lind is a realist—but it's too expensive and would require a draft. The American people won't go along. Better a concert of power, or several regional concerts, each composed of the United States and the local major powers. Besides keeping the peace in its area, each concert will combat terrorism, limit proliferation of WMDs, quell civil wars, prevent genocide, organize relief efforts, and hammer out energy and environmental pacts. The idea that the UN or other international institutions can ever do these things is "liberal utopianism." Power gets things done, not law.

There's something intoxicating about grand strategizing. Dwelling among abstractions like "power," "interest," "influence" and "credibility," lining up combinations of allies and rivals, projecting hypothetical scenarios, and casting up costs and benefits on a global scale, one can easily neglect specifics. We may have annexed Hawaii to foil German imperialism, but it was disgruntled American sugar barons who called in the Marines to depose Queen Liliuokalani. We may have generously proffered the Marshall Plan to resurrect Western Europe in the face of the Soviet threat,



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but we also remembered to design it—and all our other foreign aid programs—so that (besides slapping down those pesky labor unions) virtually all the (taxpayer) money spent returned to the United States in the form of profitable orders for American companies. We may have, however reluctantly, helped to install numerous authoritarian anti-Communist regimes in order to safeguard "the established political and economic order," but we were not at all reluctant about subsequently helping to turn most of them into a paradise for investors and, often, an inferno for workers and peasants. Those who devise American foreign policy, even when mistaken, may be, as Lind magnanimously insists, honorable men with only the country's best interests in view; but then, what's the purpose of those immense, incessantly active, secretive and spectacularly well-funded energy, arms and Wall Street lobbies, which employ so many former Congressmen, policy-makers and military officers? If, as everyone agrees, the business of America is business, is it really so unrealistic to wonder whether the business of American foreign policy mightn't also be business?

It's surprising how few realists seem to think so, or at any rate say so. One who does, Andrew Bacevich, put it this way in his superb *American Empire* (2002):

> Though garnished with neologistic flourishes intended to convey a sense of freshness or originality, the politicoeconomic concept to which the United States adheres today has not changed in a century: the familiar quest for an "open world," the overriding imperative of commercial integration, confidence that technology endows the United States with a privileged position in that order, and the expectation that American military might will preserve order and enforce the rules. These policies reflect a single-minded determination to extend and perpetuate American political, economic, and cultural hegemony—usually referred to as "leadership"—on a global scale.

Now there's a realist a liberal utopian can at least talk to.

Lind does not explain US policy in Central and South America in any detail; indeed, the region barely registers on his radar screen. No great powers there, so it scarcely merits the attention of a grand strategist. It has not, however, escaped the attention of US policy-makers. By 1930, the United States had already sent warships into Latin American ports no fewer than 6,000 times to calm various excitable Latins. And that was only the beginning, as Greg Grandin recounts in *Empire's Workshop*, the latest publication in Metropolitan's indispensable American Empire Project.

Over many decades of investment and invasion in the region, Grandin demonstrates, the United States gradually worked out "a coherently sophisticated imperial project, one better suited for a world in which rising nationalism was making a formal colonialism of the kind European nations practiced unworkable." This meant devising, as he very cogently puts it, "a flexible system of extraterritorial administration, one that allowed the United States, in the name of fighting Communism and promoting development, to structure the internal political and economic relations of allied countries in ways that allowed it to accrue more and more power and to exercise effective control over the supply of oil, ore, minerals, and other primary resources—all free from the burden of formal colonialism." It's not easy defining contemporary imperialism—these and other excellent formulations are a help.

Empire's Workshop also details the domestic politics behind US Latin America policy: in particular, the regrouping of the right that followed withdrawal from Vietnam. The neoconservatives and the Christian right joined to demand an all-out anti-Communist crusade. Once Ronald Reagan took office, reality dawned on him in this and other respects, so he indulged his more fanatical supporters mainly in Central America, where these extremists would presumably do less damage than in the Middle East or US-Soviet relations. They made the most of their consolation prize, learning to "maneuver around their more cautious colleagues in the State Department," to "bypass congressional oversight by creating a semiprivate, international network to carry out a clandestine foreign policy," to "undermine post-Vietnam efforts to limit the use of military power" and covert operations, and to "instill a culture of loyalty" and secrecy throughout the bureaucracy. Grandin is especially good on the odious "public diplomacy" of Reagan/Bush I/Bush II, a giant step in the degradation of American democracy.

"It was in Central America," Grandin writes, "where faith in American righteousness to justify a renewed militarism...morphed into the kind of idealism that now motivates the neoconservatives." Here I must quibble. It seems to me a mistake to credit the neocons, much less the Cheney/Rumsfeld/Perle hardheads, with idealism, even "punitive idealism." Every imperial project—in fact, virtually every public undertaking of every modern state—is accompanied by declarations of benevolent intention, more or less frequent and elaborate according to the scale of the undertaking and the degree of skepticism anticipated. These declarations have no evidentiary value. They are part of the manufacture of consent in democratic, and even nondemocratic, societies. It might have been difficult to gain popular support for military interventions in Central America by insisting on the necessity of preserving a favorable investment climate, or to sell the invasion of Iraq by announcing a determination to control the world's energy resources. As any public-relations executive or media consultant would have pointed out, the product needed packaging. Fear of Communism, revenge for 9/11 and appeals to popular (and naïve liberal intellectuals') generosity with fables about spreading democracy—these worked much better.

For the real purposes of US foreign policy, now as formerly, "democracy" means the freedom to vote for candidates who can be counted on to allow unrestricted capital flows; foreign ownership of vital resources; privatization of water, health, utility and banking systems; the opening of domestic markets to cheap (often subsidized) foreign imports; the repeal or lax enforcement of environmental, worker-safety, public-health and minimum-wage laws; an investor-friendly tax code; drastic reductions in social-welfare spending; the suppression of labor or peasant activism; and, if asked, the provision of facilities for US military forces. Grandin knows this; indeed, he says as much and provides valuable details on the devastation wrought by Chicago School free-market fundamentalism and the structural-adjustment programs imposed by the IMF and World Bank. But he also refers to Reagan having "picked up the torch of idealism" and "forcefully embraced human rights and support for democracy" and to George W. Bush's "current embrace of Wilsonian idealism." Grandin suggests that US policy has usually been a paradoxical combination of idealism and brutality, and that the brutality has generally swallowed up the idealism. But except for FDR's Good Neighbor Policy, I didn't see much evidence in *Empire's Workshop* of idealism, rhetoric aside.

Actually, Michael Lind knows this too, and he too has said as much, though not in *The American Way of Strategy*. In *Up From Conservatism* he wrote:

> Today...multinational businesses and banks based in the United States pin their hopes on export markets abroad—and slaver at the thought of transferring

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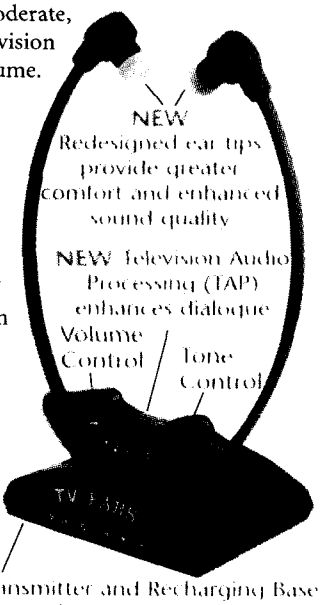
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industrial production and even routine service jobs to low-wage workers without unions or civil rights in Third World countries.... A new, free-trade coalition...allies multinational industry and finance with export-oriented agriculture in the South and West against industrial workers in the midwestern industrial heartland.... [This] low-wage, low-tax, low-public-service economy is a shift of historic proportions that has the potential to destroy the twentieth-century achievement of middle-class living standards for a majority of Americans.

As I'm sure Lind would agree, it also has the potential to prevent a majority of Third World citizens from ever achieving middle-class living standards. That so estimable a thinker as Lind doesn't, in his new book, consider these matters at least as important as the abstractions of grand strategy is a puzzle and a disappointment. ■

A Civilizing Mission

AMITAVA KUMAR

THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF EQBAL AHMAD.
Edited by Carollee Bengelsdorf, Margaret Cerullo and Yogesh Chandrani.
Foreword by Noam Chomsky. Columbia. 637 pp. $27.50.

Among anticolonial intellectuals, Pakistani scholar and activist Eqbal Ahmad (1933–99), who toward the end of his life spent fifteen years teaching at Hampshire College in Massachusetts, holds a special place. He never published a classic text on the order of Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* or Edward Said's *Orientalism*, nor did he achieve anything like fame. (The closest he came was a passing notoriety during the Nixon era, when he was indicted on charges of conspiring to kidnap Henry Kissinger.) Yet everyone who was someone in the vast but—in the West—obscure world of Third World radicalism knew Ahmad, and even his adversaries had a grudging respect for him. As much as Said, he was a mentor to a generation of thinkers, mostly South Asian, who have been active in protest struggles in the West as well as on the subcontinent.

Within a few miles of Ahmad's birthplace in the Indian state of Bihar stands the mausoleum of Sher Shah Suri, the sixteenth-century ruler who built the Grand Trunk Road across the giant spread of the subcontinent. In a BBC documentary called *Stories My Country Told Me*, Ahmad, traveling in a car across that great unifying marker in the region, cites Sher Shah's remark that "roads are the carriers of civilization." Ahmad's work as a writer and activist might be said to have performed the same function. It is not only the power but also the wide range of his sympathies that astonish. He was a committed engineer of emancipation, building imaginative roads, linking issues across continents.

Amitava Kumar is a professor of English at Vassar College. His novel Home Products *will be published in 2007.*

Though best known for his eloquent speeches and lectures, Ahmad published with some regularity; his *Selected Writings*, edited by Carollee Bengelsdorf, Margaret Cerullo and Yogesh Chandrani, are now available from Columbia University Press. They shed light on guerrilla warfare, the cold war, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, the nuclear tests carried out by India and Pakistan. There are more than fifty pieces: Some were written as op-eds, including for *The Nation*; a few were delivered as speeches; and several were published as scholarly essays.

Yet this collection, for all its riches, offers the merest hint of the scope of Ahmad's life. He may have taught at a small New England college, but he inhabited a large stage, and his adventures reflected a profoundly committed cosmopolitanism that has since degenerated into a more fashionable, and considerably less dangerous, seminar-talk in cultural studies courses on American campuses. During the early 1960s, while he was a doctoral student at Princeton and doing research in Tunisia, Ahmad rallied to the cause of Algerian independence and befriended a number of high-ranking FLN leaders exiled in Tunis. Upon his return to the United States in the mid-'60s, he became an early and impassioned opponent of the war in Vietnam and then, following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, an outspoken advocate for Palestinian rights at a time when such a position was virtually taboo in the United States.

Ahmad remained throughout his life a Marxist, but of a special kind, as the Indian social theorist Ashis Nandy reminded me in a recent conversation. Sitting in his home in Delhi, close to the shrine of the fourteenth-century Sufi saint Nizamuddin Auliya, Nandy described Ahmad as a Leninist who was long "straining at the leash." Even in the First World, where Ahmad spent many years, "the most creative Marxists had shed the shackles of Leninism." And Ahmad did the same with age. But what gave his thinking its suppleness, Nandy suggested to me, was that Ahmad had been born in a society where faith was deeply entrenched and secure. Ideology is not so powerful in such places. For some members of the radical left, particularly in the West, people in developing countries are an ideological abstraction, on whom fantasies of liberation are projected from a comfortable distance. These fantasies are not infrequently laced with condescension. Ahmad, by contrast, was led into political activism by a genuine love and compassion for the peoples of the Third World, who were anything but strangers to him. "To identify him with an ideology, as if he were a fully formed Western man," Nandy told me, "is to do him an injustice. He fought for causes in the Third World and had a robust, life-affirming attitude towards the people among whom he fought."

Not that anyone would have predicted a career of radical, globe-trotting activism for Ahmad, who was born to a prosperous family of Muslim landowners. But the struggles in British-occupied India, followed by the bloody partition that accompanied independence, changed all that. Ahmad, barely a teenager at the time, was forced to join the long caravan of refugees trekking to Pakistan. His father had earlier been murdered over a property dispute; his mother refused to leave India for Pakistan, reportedly rebuking her sons for having become "Muslim Zionists." In the course of the long march to the newly created border, young Ahmad served as an armed sentry, shooting down marauders who attacked the caravan. The experience was no doubt scarring.

In a sense, the agony of partition—of bloody interethnic riots, mass displacement and the slaughter of a million civilians—had an effect on South Asian intellectuals not unlike that of the Holocaust on Jewish intellectuals: It became their subliminal reference point, the angle of vision that defined their politics. Ahmad

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drew very specific lessons from the nationalist bloodletting. Like Rabindranath Tagore, a poet and thinker he admired, Ahmad understood that Indian anti-imperialist movements needed to avoid the ideology of nationalism. In a series of interviews with David Barsamian, published in 2000, Ahmad said, "We rejected Western imperialism, but in the process we embraced Western nationalism lock, stock, and barrel." The carnage of the partition was inevitable. And also, arguably, the present-day fundamentalist revival with its ultra-nationalist underpinnings.

Today, many writers from the subcontinent—notably the Nobel laureate economist Amartya Sen, also an admirer of Tagore—echo Ahmad's assertion that "nationalism is an ideology of difference." In his recent book *Identity and Violence*, Sen argues against the imposition of singular nationalist or civilizational affiliations on our robustly plural identities. "The same person," he writes, "can, for example, be a British citizen, of Malaysian origin, with Chinese racial characteristics, a stockbroker, a nonvegetarian, an asthmatic, a linguist, a bodybuilder, a poet, an opponent of abortion, a bird-watcher, an astrologer, and one who believes that God created Darwin to test the gullible." Like Ahmad, Sen also witnessed, as a child, the brutality of Hindu-Muslim riots. And for Sen, the way out of belligerent, civilizational partitioning lies in cultivating—even acquiring—a complex social identity. This should be true not only of individuals but also of cultures. No civilization has a monopoly on tolerance; each is capable of bigotry. In saying this, Sen is contesting the modern myth that Europe, and Europe alone, has been home to democracy and freedom. In *Identity and Violence*, Sen points to the tolerant regimes ruled by the Indian emperors Ashoka (third century BC) and Akbar (sixteenth century AD). When, in the 1590s, "the Inquisitions were quite extensive in Europe, and heretics were still being burned at the stake," Akbar forbade the forcible imposition of faith and advocated individual choice in matters of religious practice.

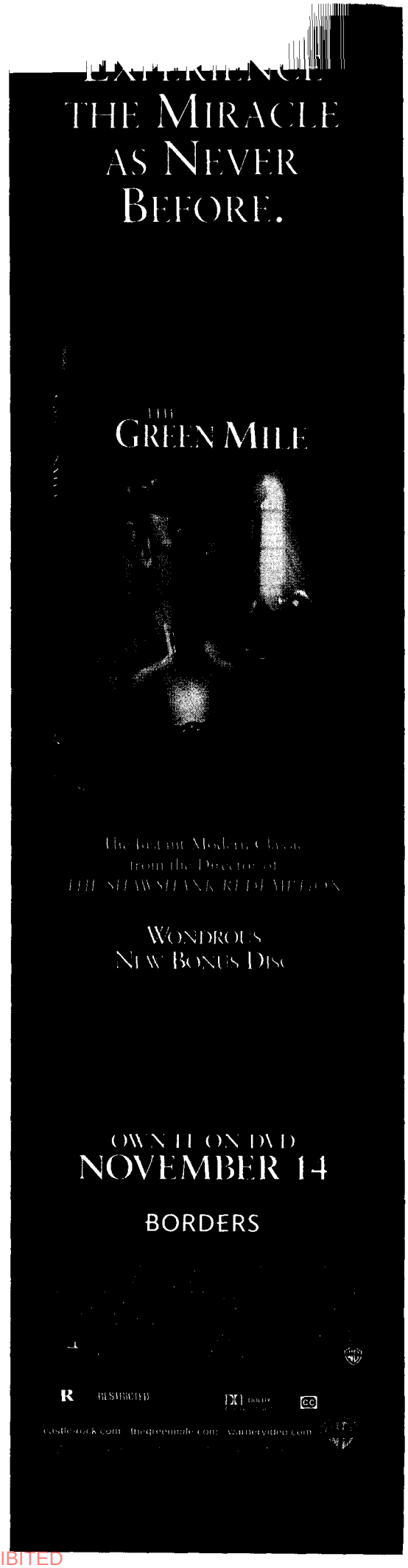
It is impossible to read arguments like Sen's without thinking of Eqbal Ahmad, particularly at a time of resurgent racist mythologizing about the supposed divide between "East" and "West." This divide, according to Ahmad, was reinforced—or, for that matter, bridged—by political and economic interests, not by "cultures." In his speech "Terrorism: Theirs and Ours," a 1998 text that found a new life on the Internet after September 11, Ahmad reflected on the marriage of convenience between the United States and the anti-Soviet Afghan mujahedeen, one that by then had ended in a bitter divorce with the rise of Al Qaeda. As he recalled:

> In 1985, President Ronald Reagan received a group of bearded men in the White House.... They were very ferocious-looking bearded men with turbans who looked as though they came from another century. After receiving them, President Reagan spoke to the press. He pointed toward them, I'm sure some of you will recall that moment, and said, "These men are the moral equivalent of America's founding fathers." These were the Afghan Mujahideen. They were at the time, guns in hand, battling the Evil Empire.... Terrorists change. The terrorist of yesterday is the hero of today, and the hero of yesterday becomes the terrorist of today. This is a serious matter in the constantly changing world of images in which we have to keep our heads straight to know what is terrorism and what is not.

During President Clinton's bombing of Afghanistan and Sudan in 1998, Ahmad warned: "The United States has sowed in the Middle East and in South Asia very poisonous seeds. These seeds are growing now. Some have ripened, and others are ripening. An examination of why they were sown, what has grown, and how they should be reaped is needed. Missiles won't solve the problem."

To read these passages is to be struck not only by Ahmad's prescience but by his loathing of fundamentalism, his hatred of imperial hypocrisy, his belief in the value of history, and his commitment to resolving political problems through diplomacy, not war. His writing on the Muslim world in particular was notable for its critical vigilance and integrity, its resistance to received wisdom. In a 1984 essay titled "Islam and Politics," Ahmad wrote that the truth of "the Muslim condition" had "slipped beyond the grasp of most 'experts.'" In his view, Islam in its exemplary form was a religion of the oppressed. Because its rise was dialectically linked to social revolt, he felt, the "religious force and cultural force of Islam continues to outpace its political capabilities." The structural unity that Islamic societies had achieved, especially in culture and education, had been disrupted by Western imperialism. As he put it:

> The remarkable continuity which, over centuries of growth and expansion, tragedies and disasters, had distinguished Islamic civilization was interrupted. This



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change, labeled modernization by social scientists, has been experienced by contemporary Muslims as a disjointed, disorienting, unwilled reality. The history of Muslim peoples in the last one hundred years has been largely a history of groping—between betrayals and losses—toward ways to break this impasse, to somehow gain control over their collective lives, and link their past to the future.

Islamic fundamentalists, although they had little trouble raising their voices, only spoke for a minority; the majority of Muslims, Ahmad believed, had their faces turned to the future even as they remained rooted in the past. As he pointed out, the political heroes of the Muslim world in the twentieth century had been "secular, generally Westernized individuals": Kemal Atatürk in Turkey, Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Pakistan, Sukarno in Indonesia, Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt, Habib Bourguiba in Tunisia and the nine "historic chiefs" of the Algerian Revolution. Even the PLO, he added, claimed to represent a "secular and democratic" polity, and "two of its three most prominent leaders [Marxist leaders George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh] are Christian."

Accurate as this analysis was for much of the twentieth century, it seems incongruous today when much of the region that so concerned Ahmad seethes with a passion that is defiantly unsecular. Muslim anger has, of course, been stoked by America's war in Iraq and by Israel's brutal policies toward Palestine and Lebanon. Still, this cannot explain why radical Islam (with its various branches, tendencies and strategies) has managed to co-opt the anti-imperial struggle in the Muslim world—and why, by contrast, the Third World Marxism that Ahmad embodied so brilliantly has been unable to offer existential comfort or a successful political program to the masses.

One senses that Ahmad was deeply sensitive to the waning influence of radical secular politics in the Muslim world, where Islamists increasingly led the opposition to military regimes that had betrayed the dream of independence from colonialism. It may well have been this concern that led him to return, shortly before his death in 1999, to Pakistan, where he hoped to build a university that would teach the humanities. It was to be called Khaldunia University, after the great Arab historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), whom UN General Secretary Kofi Annan described as "a globalist long before the age of globalization." (When Annan said that, he was de-

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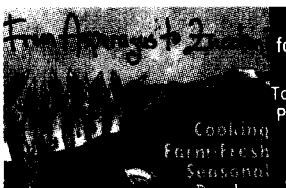

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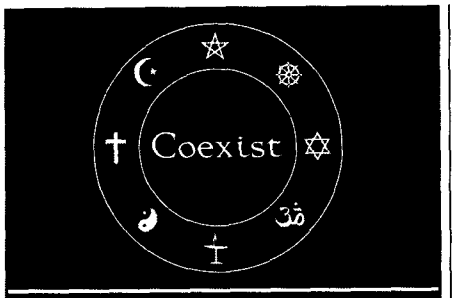

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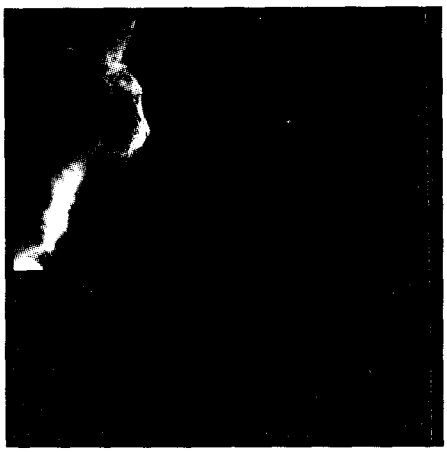

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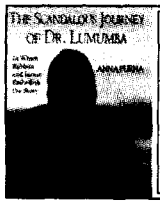

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livering the first Eqbal Ahmad lecture at Hampshire College. Annan was no doubt also thinking of Ahmad when he reminded his audience that Khaldun had "argued that civilizations decline when they lose their capacity to comprehend and absorb change, and that 'the greatest of scholars err when they ignore the environment in which history unfolds.'") Alas, Khaldunia University was never built; according to *The Economist*'s obituary of Ahmad, he "died before a rupee was raised for it."

Even if his dream had come to fruition, it is hard to imagine Ahmad running a university. He was too much the congenital outsider. Ahmad's independence from institutions and political parties allowed him to deliver criticism to those least inclined to listen, and it might have been the reason why he earned the trust of statesmen and revolutionaries throughout the Third World. A critic of power rather than an intellectual seeking power, he turned his weakness into a source of strength.

This past summer, Robin Varghese, a former student of Ahmad's at Hampshire, recounted a story to me that he had heard his teacher tell in class. When Ahmad was in his 20s, he received a Rotary fellowship to come to the United States for further studies. He knew that he wanted to see four things when he left the subcontinent. Three of those four sites he visited en route to this country. He went to the Highgate Cemetery in London to pay homage to Karl Marx; he also visited 21B Baker Street, for its well-known literary landmark; and he wandered through the British Museum, where his reaction was "Return the loot!" The fourth place that Ahmad wanted to visit was in the United States, in Chicago, and it was the site of the Haymarket riot of 1886. Ahmad wanted to go there because, as a boy, he had been taken to May Day celebrations in India. He now wanted to lay flowers at the Haymarket monument to honor the striking workers who had marched in the first May Day parade.

But several years were to pass before he could visit Chicago. He had arrived in the United States in 1957 to study history at Occidental College; a year later he enrolled at Princeton as a graduate student in political science and Middle East history. His research then took him to Tunisia, an even further detour from Chicago. It was not until 1967, during his three-year stint as a teacher at Cornell, that Ahmad found himself giving a job talk in the city where in 1886 laboring men and women had fought to win the eight-hour work-

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day. He left his hotel, picked up a bouquet of flowers and, when he arrived at Haymarket, asked where he could find the monument. No one seemed to know of it. Finally someone pointed it out to him. It was a statue of a policeman who had preserved law and order on that day long ago. Ahmad brought the flowers back with him and gave them to his girlfriend, Julie Diamond, who eventually became his wife.

In 1968, in a speech at an antiwar sit-in, Ahmad, who was now a fellow at the Adlai Stevenson Institute in Chicago, spoke of his search for the Haymarket monument. He told the audience how shocked he had been that the historical memory of workers' resistance, recognized and celebrated throughout the world, had not been honored in its own place of origin. Not long after, two FBI agents showed up at Ahmad's door. They wanted to know what he had said about Haymarket and who had been in the audience. It turned out that the Weathermen had just blown up the offending statue of the Chicago policeman.

"I am inclined to tell stories," Eqbal Ahmad had once said, and, in one of his interviews, he offered a vignette about the visit from the two FBI agents:

> They first asked me if I was a citizen of the United States. I said, "No." They said, "Don't you feel that as a guest in this country you should not be going about criticizing the host country's government?" I said, "I hear your point, but I do want you to know that while I am not a citizen, I am a taxpayer. And I thought it was a fundamental principle of American democracy that there is no taxation without representation. I have not been represented about this war. And my people, Asian people, are being bombed right now." Surprisingly, the FBI agents looked deeply moved and blushed at my throwing this argument at them. They were speechless. Then I understood something about the importance of having some congruence between American liberal traditions...and our rhetoric and tactics."

The story is revealing of Ahmad's cunning in a delicate situation, and of his sly talent for turning experience into political fable. But it also suggests his humanity, his belief in the power of reason to persuade and to elicit empathy. People like Ahmad do not come along often. That is why the publication of his *Selected Writings* is an occasion for sorrow as well as celebration. ■

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SPANISH STUDY

STUDY SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SPANISH year-round at CETLALIC—Progressive immersion school in Cuernavaca, Mexico. Special programs: women's issues, healthcare, education, religion, LGBT life and more: www.cetlalic.org.mx.

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Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.90/word, 15-word minimum = $58.50 for 1–3 insertions; PO Box, telephone numbers, web address count as two words.

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Buy 10–23 runs, pay $3.50 per word
Buy 24–46 runs, pay $3.00 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.50 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $50/insertion B/W; $60 for color. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. EPS logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 10 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ insertions at $ _____ / word rate.

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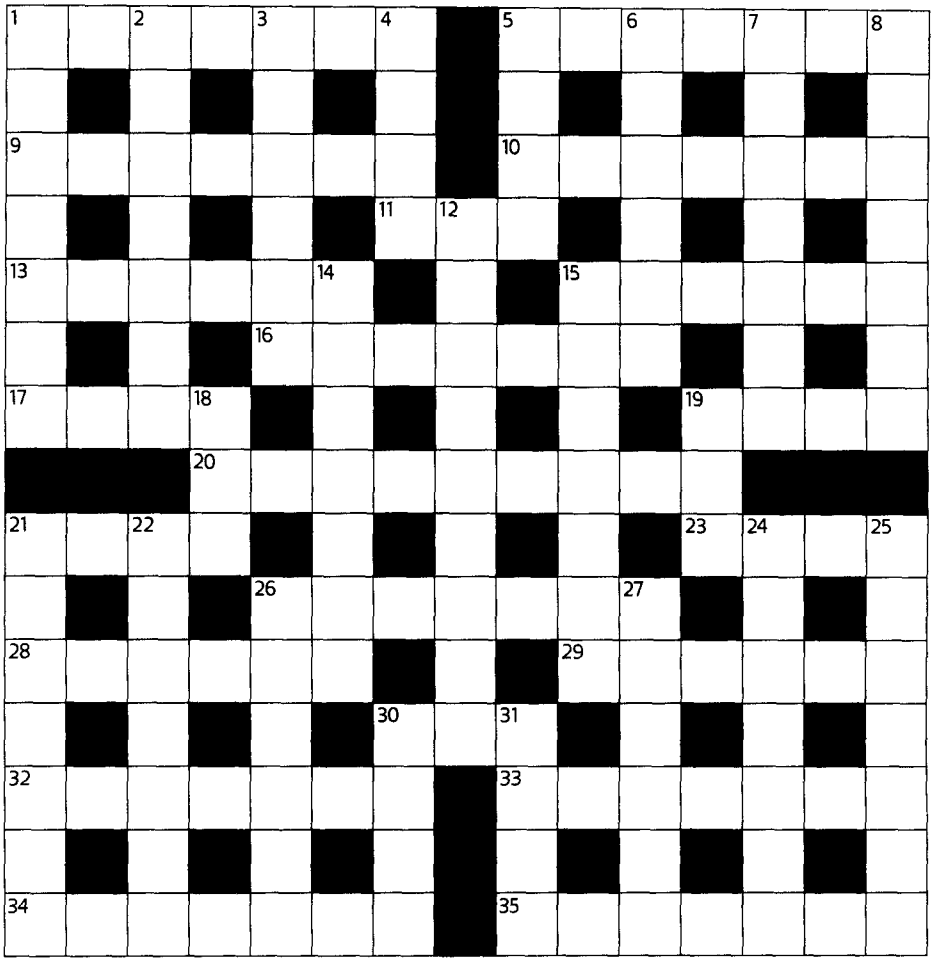
PUZZLE NO. 3058

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and **5** Are they just two-bit experts or can they dish out the grub for you? (14)

9 Offering an alternative to one of the old gods of a foreign country. (7)

10 Came with a little rail transportation, getting to a disreputable dive. (7)

11 See 30 across

13 Rural character showing the signs of being eaten away with a little less than a hundred such. (6)

15 The guy at the window who can't keep a secret? (6)

16 One of them had a princely association with what might sound to some as pill-takers. (7)

17 Possibly Alan of screen fame. (4)

19, and **18**, **30** and **31** down It's a cinch what the sales representative might do after he gets his foot in the door, but gets turned down! (4,3,4,4)

20 Gothamite reading material. (3,6)

21 In the "seven ages" one was bearded like a common friend. (4)

23 and **19** down Looks over what might be a put-out of mine—not a very good-looking one. (7)

26 Bonny, this makes sour cream! (7)

28 Comment concerning German bread? (6)

29 Rather expensive, with the endless lack of anything important. (6)

30 and **11** A small holder with color, describing the onetime announcer's cow, or one in India. (6)

32 Heavenly number of early movies, describing a seal. (7)

33 The elephant and the kangaroo, starting those who were Ark-headed in pairs. (7)

34 Arrives at the end of dinner, returning with the hair made up? (7)

35 Important times with the music unfinished, according to the humanist and scholar. (7)

DOWN

1 An argument caused by an arrow? (7)

2 The essayist who proved a minister is no up-comer. (7)

3 Reverse 3.1416—it might supply a green course. (7)

4 Right propeller for what Bottom did. (4)

5 A drink that is always made wrong! (4)

6 What many watch could be either a continuing story or world event. (6)

7 Letter holder? That misses the point! (7)

8 Not a happy club, used in the press. (7)

12 Plant has a secondary rating in extreme happiness. (9)

14 Typical of pussyfooting over the stage? (7)

15 Went a long way in Africa. (7)

18 See 19 across

19 See 23 across

21 The way an expression might be put is "sharp" perhaps, especially to the little boss of the news sheet. (7)

22 Concerning what the board player makes, throws out the answer. (7)

24 Weapon several feet long found aboard ship. (7)

25 A little science with his writing shortly should show real differences. (7)

26 Pull away in terror or disgust, with a lopsided grin in the Common Era. (6)

27 Possibly retain what is necessary to get an eyefull. (6)

30 and **31** See 19 across

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3057

B	A	C	K	G	A	M	M	O	N		P	A	S	S
U		H		R		A		B		S		N		C
L	O	O	K	I	N	G		S	T	A	U	N	C	H
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T	E	S	T		L	O	C	K	S	M	I	T	H	S

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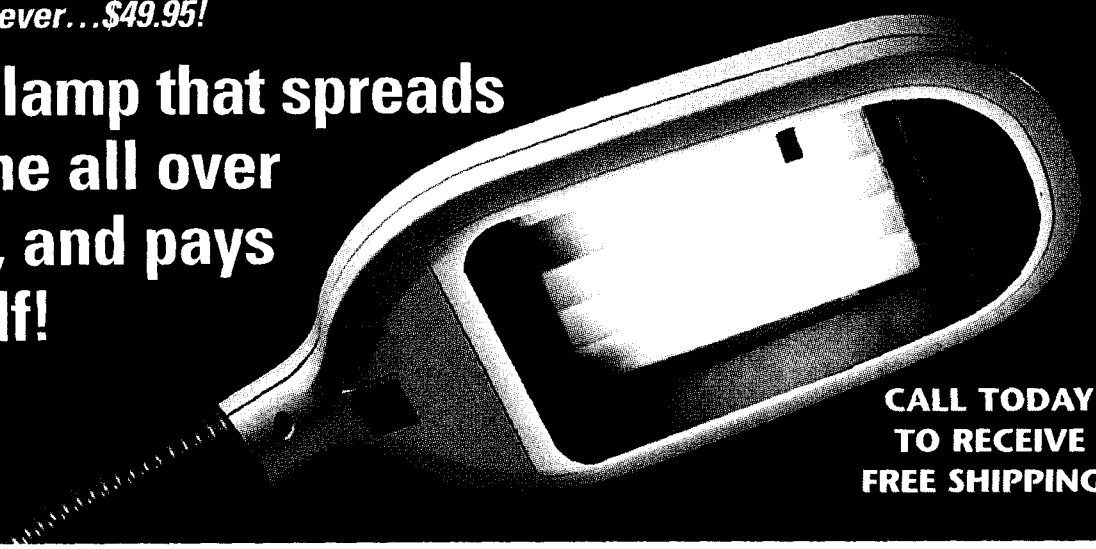
A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room, and pays for itself!



CALL TODAY TO RECEIVE FREE SHIPPING*

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with a savings of $77 over the life of one bulb!*

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded...and the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well-being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now there's a better way to bring the positive benefits associated with natural sunlight indoors.

*SAVE $77 over the life of one Balanced Spectrum® bulb!***

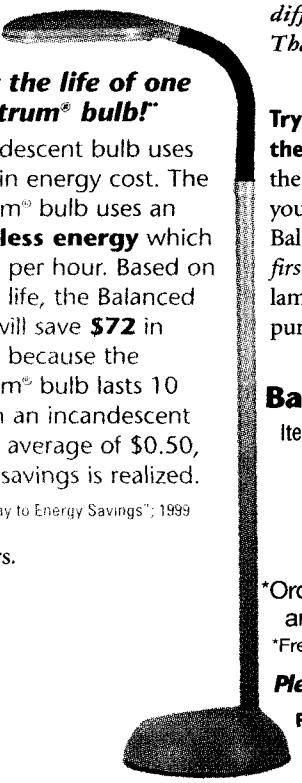
A 150-watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum® bulb uses an average of **70% less energy** which saves you $0.009 per hour. Based on 8,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum® bulb will save **$72** in energy cost. *Plus*, because the Balanced Spectrum® bulb lasts 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional **$5** savings is realized.

**Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels. But as we all know, the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So, to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

Experience sunshine indoors at the touch-of-a-switch. This amazing lamp is easy on the eyes and easy on the hands. It features a special "soft-touch, flicker-free" rocker switch that's easier to use than traditional toggle or twist switches. Its flexible gooseneck design enables you to get light where you need it most. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts 10 times longer than an ordinary bulb make this lamp a must-have.



Height as shown: 50"

"As soon as I turned on the lamp and began to read the newspaper I could see the wonderful difference. This lamp is just what I needed. Thank you so much."

Donna E.
Scranton, PA

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp for the best value ever! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your home at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this lamp for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

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$10 instant savings!

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"This sleek, compact music maker couldn't be easier to operate... an extraordinary performer."
Jonathan Takiff,

"Turn it up, close your eyes and you'll think you're listening to a... sound system that costs five times more."
– Forbes FYI

"The sound that came out of this little thing was unbelievable... A marvel of technology."
David Novak,

The gift that lets them enjoy their music.

Even more.

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Premium sound quality makes it a great gift. The Wave® music system brings new life to music. Advanced Bose technology produces what *AudioVideo International* calls "deeper bass and more accurate reproduction of the sound of musical instruments." The result is realism that more closely reproduces the magic of a live performance. And sound quality that we welcome you to compare to larger, conventional systems costing much more.

Multi-CD Changer makes it even more appreciated. Designed exclusively for the Wave® music system, the optional Multi-CD Changer allows you to enjoy convincingly accurate sound for hours on end. One CD or MP3 CD goes in the Wave® music system, and three more go in the changer. They work as one. What's more, a credit card-style remote easily operates every feature, including the FM/AM digital tuner, clock and alarm. It's all-in-one convenience from a system that provides an elegant addition to the living room, kitchen, bedroom or office.

Take advantage of our 30-day, risk-free trial. Use our Excitement Guarantee to experience the performance for 30 days. When you call, be sure to ask about making **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.* Order the Wave® music system today. Better yet, order it with our Multi-CD Changer by December 31, 2006, and save $50. They're the gifts that make special occasions even more special.

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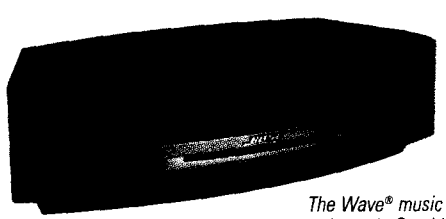

The Wave® music system shown in Graphite Gray.

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